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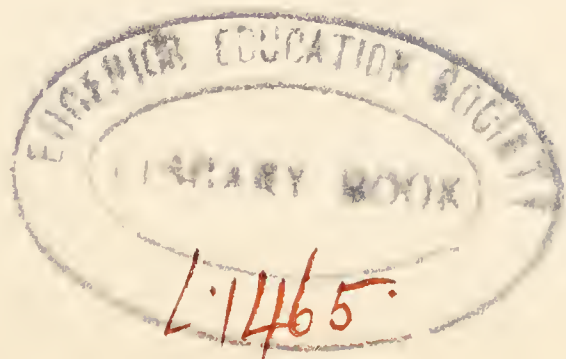
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THE HUMAN HIVE :
ITS LIFE AND LAW



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THE HUMAN HIVE: ITS LIFE AND LAW

BY

A. H. MACKMURDO

(Author of "*Electoral Reform*," "*Profit-Sharing*," etc.)

"Let us be more considerate builders, more skilled in spiritual architecture, when great reformation is expected."

—MILTON.

"So from day to day and strength to strength you shall build up indeed by art, by thought, and by just will an *ecclesia* of England of which it shall not be said 'See what manner of stones are here,' but 'See what manner of men.'"

—J. RUSKIN.

"By God! I will have nothing that all cannot have their counterpart of on the same terms!"

—WALT WHITMAN.

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PREFACE

The world is, as it were, a commonwealth, a city ; and there are observances, customs, usages, actually current in it, things our friends and companions will expect of us, as the condition of our living there with them at all, as really their peers or fellow citizens.

—MARCUS AURELIUS.

No one will pretend that the system by which our ten million families maintain their life is anything but a defective system, working with a friction and inefficiency not to be tolerated in any machine. Indeed, we may say that our productive and distributive system can scarcely be called an "organization"; while in our regulative system we have little more than a police control, preventing open robbery and violence, yet permitting almost any kind of indirect robbery and violence.

For some five hundred years there has been no "rule of life" sufficiently prevalent and convincing to compel individuals willingly to subordinate their capricious ambitions to its dictation. The saner minds of the day are aroused by the seriousness of the evils brought about by this defect—evils so great and numerous that there would be no hope of the growing tide of discontent, waste, and poverty being turned were it not for the encouragement to be found in two of the more significant features of our time. One of these is the birth of the "Social conscience"; the other is the discovery of the "Social process." Recently we have come to know that in calling to our aid these two factors we have a power for

good such as has not been at man's service since the birth of Christianity. Indeed, they may be regarded, in their spiritual awakening to the dawn of a fuller and more lofty life, as the first-fruits of Christianity.

The birth of the "Social conscience" means the birth of a social ideal or "rule of life" not for a class but for a people; the conviction that there is something greater than, and beyond, the individual—a collective life, or society, to whose larger permanent interest the smaller personal interest must bend or break.

The new knowledge of the "Social process" consists, first, in the discovery of an Evolution of Society as a living organism, together with an accompanying Evolution of its individual units. Secondly, it consists of the discovery that this dual Evolution of the individual and the social body persists under the operation of a cosmic law, or process, which may be investigated, comprehended, and made a rational basis for the organization of a people's activities.

This recent discovery of the law of personal and social evolution is the most momentous discovery as yet made. All physical discoveries pale before it, since in this law we may find not only a key to the problems vexing many a man's spirit in the present, but a compass pointing the way out of the present disorder to a safe pathway of progress for the future. Both key and compass unite in establishing a natural principle as the basis of a political stability, an order lending dignity to economic activity.

In this principle, derived from the observed nature of things, every man may find a religious motive urging him to seek "not his own but another's wealth"; urging him to unite his life more intimately, in kindly manner, with the life of his fellows. And since, in its operation upon

personal and social welfare, a principle thus derived must be beneficial, its character is ethical. Our nature needs the wine of an imaginative stimulant to carry us pleasantly through the daily routine by which we get our bread. Vague hope is transformed into an impelling desire by the real presence of some not impossible ideal within the audience-chamber of the soul.

Signs are not wanting to show that the social mind is moving in the direction indicated by this law of social progress. In some matters the movement is by a direct route, in other matters it is by a circuitous approach or by tentative ways; but, while among individuals there is a going backward and forward between gallows and pulpit, there is a general movement of the community toward a nicer adjustment of its activities and relationships to morals and manners, bringing a comeliness, an artistic order, into life. This movement is characterized by an emancipation from those beliefs, customs, and statutes which hamper man's choice of effort towards the development of his best self.

Change is in the order of things, yet there can be no change without some danger, man being what he is. The dangers most to be feared arise from the spirit of selfishness shown in the action of those who, to catch an advantage, would rush a change; also, in the hindrance of others who, to retain an outworn privilege, would retard a change of any kind. Such are the enemies of society.

Under the sway of the new conception as to life's meaning and motive we are passing from a type of conduct dictated by an inhibiting rule, having the fear of corporal punishment as its emotional factor, with the personal life in another world as its medium, to a type of conduct dictated by an impelling motive, having the

attraction of an ideal beauty as its emotional factor, with the personal life in a society as its medium. The difference is the difference between the compulsions of barbarism and the self-restraints of civilization.

In these days we should be beating the air could we not satisfy the mind that this ethical principle at work, integrating the social life and exalting the personal life, is as inevitable in its ultimate operation upon the progress of man as an astronomical law harmonizing and controlling the symmetric movements of a planet. The times demand that we expose the groundwork upon which this rational conception of social law is founded; show it to be what it is, as a result of the very nature of things set within a universal "order" of which man is part. If there be an ethical principle ruling the progress of man as a part of the universal order, that it may carry to the mind a conviction of its reality, it must be shown to be soundly established by an appeal to experience of the world-order. Moreover, it is of the utmost importance that the principle itself be set forth in its ready application to social practices in order that our discordant methods may be modified into some conformity therewith. The intuitions of man's spirit formulate his ideals; but unless these spiritual aspirations satisfy the test of the imaginative reason, working upon and construing phenomena, they will not satisfy the test of practical living. In the past a man was unwilling to submit his faith to this test of reason; creed and experience were accordingly divorced, religion taking refuge in the unenlightened recesses of a subjective theology. At the core of every sound ideal there must be some cardinal principle which the reason can discover as logical and the sentiment attach itself to as desirable.

Such is the principle of "Social Evolution," which is the corner-stone of religion as a rule of life—a religion not cold in its abstraction, but warm in its humanism.

When this principle regulating the progressive movement of mankind is set forth and understood, it will be accepted as the law of gravitation—an equally subjective conception—is accepted; and once accepted by Church, State, and school, it will be given the force of Dorian discipline, the power of Christian doctrine. But, as yet, it has not been the subject of scientific investigation save by a few sociologists. Consequently, the more advanced views upon social economy have been merely destructive of the old wreckage, rather than constructive of a sounder social structure with the new material at our hand. Some economists, by an intuition, have anticipated the more accurate knowledge of the social movement. Yet the transformation effected by the humanization of our economy through ethics presents to the imaginative eye a picture so amazing that the courage is lacking to describe it. Such courage as is required will come only as a result of a rational as well as a spiritual conviction. The cold logical position must be unassailable before one will dare say that a world-wide custom is contrary to the stable constitution of a progressive society, and must be thrown upon the scrap-heap before further progress can be made. This constructive work, however, can no longer be delayed if our country is to be delivered from spiritual and material ruin. In social thought we must leave the world of fiction and make-believe; in social action we must give up tinkering the material appliances of life; in social investigation we must get down to the mainsprings of social life—the unchangeable human instincts and intuitions. We must understand there is no standing

still upon this planet for the self-complacent; neither is there any looking back upon privileged positions left behind, or we become pillars of salt in a desert of ideals. There must be a general understanding that the permanent condition of society is an evolution, not a devolution, much less a revolution; that the permanent condition of intellectual honesty is the harmony of the ideal and the known.

A thing is really that which it will be when its development is complete; not that which it appears to be before that maturity. Both Society and Man are in a process of development along lines fairly well ascertained. We are therefore able to consider both Society and Man as they are coming to be to-morrow, which is the riper to-day. Failure so to regard them, in pretence of "being matter-of-fact," has led to confusion of thought in the discussion of social matters. The chief feature of all development is that, in the structure of the whole and in the relation of part to part, a more complete harmony is being brought about, throwing a charm over the commonplace, and everything incongruous being eliminated in the process. Consequently, in taking an undistorted view of society, we must eliminate from our view any element which appears in its nature incongruous with the totality of human nature in its upward reach. For instance, from a community which has to be maintained by the combined effort of its able members we must eliminate, as an element incongruous with its permanent structure or glad relationships, those recent claims made by its non-functional members upon its functional members; also, we must eliminate any method of work, or condition of life, which does not aid the development of the complete nature of both man and society.

The object of this work¹ is, then, first to expose the rational basis of that ethical principle whose rule ensures the evolution and harmonization of our social life; secondly, to point out the nature of the changes in our way of doing things and in our manner of treating our fellow workers—changes which will mark the forthcoming stage of social progress towards the winning type of civilization, and such as can be neither hastened nor hindered without injury; thirdly, to make clear the distinction between those activities which at their best do no more than provide man with his provender, and those other activities whose aim has been to adorn, refine, and exalt his spirit with all that his spirit touches; a distinction peculiarly instructive to-day in showing

How wide the limits stand
Between a splendid and a happy land.

Each social institution or instrument, then, we must regard as part of a self-determining whole—an organ of the corporate body—and, as such, having no independent function or being. Whatever a man's special life-task, there can be but one rule of life for all. Whatever the field of operation under our consideration—religion, politics, or economics—the changes brought about through the leaven of ethics will necessarily be the same in their essence; consequently, in a general survey some repetition is unavoidable. However, it is in its universality of application that the test of a truth lies, and this test the reader should apply. No one more than the author is aware how often one is deceived by seeming similitudes, particularly when the search is for the

¹ With the exception of the Addenda, it was written in 1914, and completed after the outbreak of the Great War. Its publication was, however, delayed on account of many untoward causes.

unifying principle. And here in some particularities may he not have deceived himself? To the public the work is submitted with this reservation.

A. H. M.

Wickham Bishops, March, 1926.

I

THE MEANING OF THE HIVE TO THE MAN AND WOMAN

Therefore doth Heaven divide
The state of man in diverse functions,
Setting endeavour in continual motion ;
To which is fixed, as an aim or butt,
Obedience : for so work the honey-bees ;
Creatures, that, by a rule in nature, teach
The act of order to a peopled Kingdom.

—SHAKESPEARE, *King Henry V.*

THE nation is a hive. That we see it as such is important, for we shall then regard its life as a Whole, subject to some common rule and order, as a necessity for the spiritual liberties of the individual. Its meaning to each man and woman is in the first place this : that as each body in the physical world breathes the same atmosphere, deprived of which it is stifled, so every being in this social hive breathes the same social atmosphere, whose vitalizing element is the social- or hive-conscience, and when that is numbed man's spirit is stifled.

Next, that as every being in this world is subject to the same Cosmic law, obedience to which brings physical freedom, breach of which entails serfdom and death, so every member of the Hive is subject to the same hive-law, a willing submission to which brings spiritual and economic freedom, breach of which—whether innocent or wilful—results in spiritual serfdom and social paralysis.

Further, the meaning of the hive “order” is that the work of each member of the Hive becomes, by virtue of the hive-constitution, a piece of team-work, the ultimate purpose of which is a common welfare, from which welfare each shall derive the enjoyment of such good

things as may properly be one's personal lot as citizen of the national hive or State.

Lastly, its meaning is that all share a common sentiment—a sentiment so predominant that it can find its satisfaction only when one is in sympathy with the striving of other members for the betterment of the common lot—the sentiment which ennobles both the service and the sacrifice of the soldier fighting for his country ; also that of the boy who plays his part in the school game.

The Hive is, then, no bag of marbles, each marble touching its neighbour, yet with no coherence between them. It is a group of sensitive beings, each one touching his neighbour at some one point or more, and through this sensitive touch of each, all cohering in one organic Whole. In more than a symbolic sense do these fifty million persons forming the collective body of our nation share the work of its head, heart, and hands ; each thinking, throbbing, working for a mighty end beyond self.

Through the comprehension of this Hive-interest, and through an appreciation of its social character, each man and woman may find a straight course of conduct to pursue under any normal circumstance. This comprehension produces the conviction, first, that whatever a man may gather up for the satisfaction of his body or his spirit is necessarily a product of the common effort and drawn from the treasure-house of the human hive, to whose treasure all have in some way contributed. Secondly, that every worthy deed well done, every true thought clearly uttered, every sincere feeling made articulate, everything of value which comes from a man—all this inevitably enters into, and becomes a portion of, the Hive-treasure, and as such, in the making of the future, is immortalized.

With the rule which governs the Hive, the practical man of business, no less than the politician, is now coming to terms, finding only those courses which agree there-

with to be of practical value. Later in this work we shall see that the most practical affairs and the most useful institutions are those which most amply serve the interest of the younger life shaping within the Hive. The living work and die that the unborn may live.

II

MAN'S ENVIRONMENT

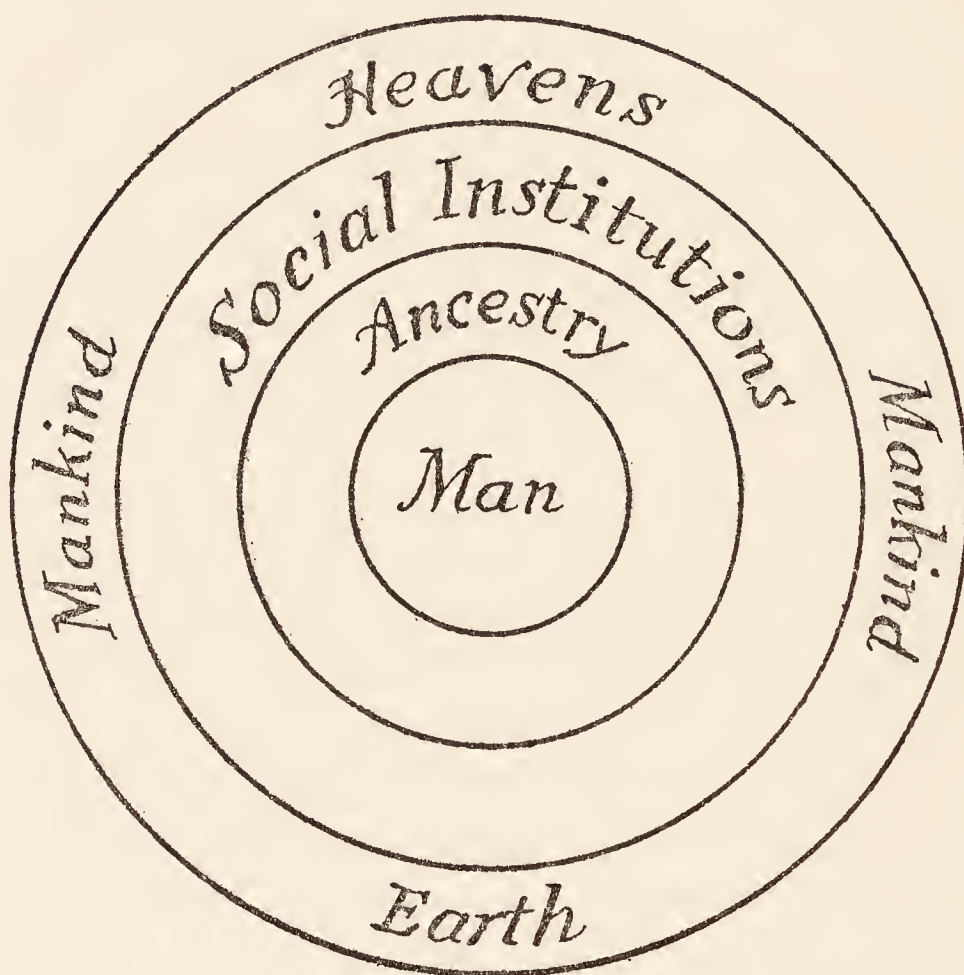
Circumstances are the raw material from which a good life can be compelled if only we have plenty of alchemic power.

—SIR HENRY JONES.

WHEN man is born into the world he is subjected to influences of two distinct kinds. His personal life at maturity is the product of these influences in their interplay and mutual reactions. The one set of influences acts upon him while he is being fashioned in his mother's womb. In this living partnership he is inheriting influences which are in part the surviving relics of a time before man had emerged from the animal state. This inheritance, both ancestral and parental, as it has become part of his nature at birth, we call the "Subjective environment." At his birth into the outer world man enters another environment, both social and cosmic, made up of many varied forces, influences, and actualities, which together constitute his "Objective environment."

Man's subjective environment, or ancestry, may be considered as in part physiological and in part biological. His physiological inheritance consists of those recently acquired characteristics which distinguish one family from another—the Browns from the Smiths. They include a particular physique or bodily structure, a certain aptitude of mind, a certain quality of temperament, which

have characterized his predecessors for many generations. They manifest themselves in a certain kind of conduct, in degrees of physical activity and health, in an educability in some definite direction, and a susceptibility to certain kinds of emotion. Through the action of this inborn educability in a certain direction particular families for many generations have distinguished themselves in some



The two outer circles represent man's Objective environment.
The inner circle represents his Subjective environment.

art or craft wherein excellence depends upon long persisting practice carried on after puberty. This educability strictly follows the sex as the beard follows the sex.

Man's biologic inheritance consists of those more ancient and persistent traits which distinguish races—the Englishman from the Chinaman.

Beneath these two factors of inheritance there is another factor, more ancient and derived from our pre-human ancestry. This element enters the composition of all

human beings, and is common to all families and to all races. It is this common ancestry which makes the whole world kin, and forms the starting-point of civilization. This primitive heritage manifests itself in our instincts, presentiments, and intuitions—deep-seated forces which, when loosened from the control of the social influence, break out of bounds and infect the whole group with animal passions. They give rise to blood feuds, religious fanaticism, class antagonism, national wars, and cruel sport. We speak of them as instincts of the herd: they are instincts so deeply rooted they are difficult to bring under control.

The Objective inheritance also consists of two parts. One part lies in the historic institutions of man, the other lies in the cosmic sphere. Man thus finds himself confronting two powers, with each of which he has to get into friendly relation. He is confronted by Nature, to whose order he must conform; he is confronted by Society, whose rule he must obey. He has to learn how Nature operates; also how his fellow-man thinks and wills. His standard is outside him, his life is determined by his social setting; while what he makes of this life depends upon the character of his heart and mind. The social setting of the Anglo-Saxon race is different from that of any other. This gives rise to a difference between one nation and another in habits of action, in ideals, sentiments, and morals. Thus, whereas the species of man is one, the types of civilization are many. To this objective environment man has the power and liberty of reacting; he can improve it or spoil it. With animals there is no such power to alter the world they live in.

This objective environment, as it plays upon our mind and senses, provides the means of our Tuition; while our subjective environment provides the means of our Intuition. The former is our schoolmaster, at whose feet we sit throughout life. From experiences gained in the realm of nature is our intelligence developed. By experi-

ences gained in the realm of Society—the dead and the living—is our character shaped. Rational power is chiefly the product of world experience; moral character chiefly the product of social experience. The influence of these experiences is cumulative by reason of their almost unbroken continuity.

Below man's feet is the earth, from whose composition he derives his solidity and structure, his material lodgment, and creature comforts. From his close contact with the Beings and the Things of the earth—animals, plants, minerals, and atmosphere—man obtains food for his sustenance and material for his protection and equipment. Here his strength finds its field of exercise, his effort its reward of supplies and pleasures. In his relation to the earth, man is not only the child of order, but he is the missionary of order. This will be manifest in the care with which he will treat the earth when seizing her gifts. Only when unduly pressed will he be regardless of her beauty. Her fecundity and her beauty we recognize as a heritage for our enjoyment and as a trust for our children.

Above and around man moves the marvel of the celestial fires—the Heavens. Contemplation of these has educed his reverence for those miracles his reason cannot fathom; also his habit of submission to an order which his action cannot alter. From the all-embracing sphere of the Heavens he derives his largest measure of physical health, his subtler draughts of emotional inspiration, his consciousness of a Power external and contributory to his own. To the Heavens we owe our seasons, the weather and tides; our measures of time, volume, weight, and area; our light, heat, electricity, and sound. Our energy to do has here its origin. The periodic changes within the body, in health and in sickness, are attributed to the rhythmic movements of the heavens—a rhythm to which the earth and all thereon respond. To the action of this part of our environment are traced the differences of colour, tempera-

ment, and creed between peoples occupying diverse zones, each one of which has its own fixed relation to the sun, which is the chief differentiator.

Simplicity and regularity being characteristics of the movements observed in the heavens, man has obtained from his early perception of these motions his conception of Law and his sense of rhythmic Order, strongly contrasting with and slowly modifying his undisciplined capriciousness.

The most important element of our complex environment is our social inheritance. Man is born into a social medium—Society. This medium is as real and impalpable as the æther. A thing *is* what it *does*, and we know what Society is by what it does. Our institutions are the outward manifestations of the “social” mind in its progress within this social medium. Under the influence of this social mind we come to accept what we cannot understand. The ideas and opinions, the speech and habits, of the group into which we are born become our own without conscious reasoning; and so inwrought are they in the texture of our nature that reason can only with difficulty shift them. They form a kind of public opinion, with which it is a source of personal pleasure and some pride to be in agreement. Each nation, or group, may be considered as a branch outgrown from the trunk of Society, the families being the leaves which periodically die.

Man is not left without some power of choice in the presence of this mechanism of environment and heredity. Through the training and experience of his forebears this power of choice is directed towards the selection of factors favourable to his betterment. By his will-power he can encourage factors of one kind and inhibit factors of the opposite kind. Indeed, civilization is the result of the good that has been brought out of the evil by the stronger natures of the human race: Man's evolution finally depending upon his spiritual or social sense acting,

through his trained will-power, upon this world of intermingled good and evil.

Through the home and school, through church and state, through language and law, through art and science, through all these embodiments of the "social spirit" acting imperceptibly upon us from our first breath to our last, is each the kind of person he is. By what a man is we may know how intimately he has been touched by the social spirit which is the breath of inspiration upon the world; and to bring every individual most fully under the influence of this social spirit is the aim of sound education.

Man is thus the offspring of the parents: nature and nurture. But for man the fact of importance is that he can modify the action of these parents upon their future offspring. By actions of his own in parentage and in education can a man benefit his social and blood descendants. Each individual is therefore responsible for the kind of heritage he passes on to the unborn. "The living are ruled by the dead."

Civilization, then, depends upon this unbroken thread of continuity which runs through our flesh and blood from its starting-point to its unknown terminal in the future.

The consciousness of powers external to one and beyond one's control has led man from time to time to create some working hypothesis as to the origin and direction of the universe; with these we deal later on. Here we stress the importance of the fact that man is now conscious of a universal trend towards perfection, in which trend he is both fact and factor. The struggle of life—the only struggle worth the cost of utmost human endeavour—will be, henceforth, the struggle of the individual, you and me, to keep pace with and not fall back from this perfecting process, by bringing the personal life into harmony with the only sequence which ends in beauty—the sequence from material imperfection to material perfection, from spiritual evil to spiritual good.

A knowledge of the world-order, as it surely moves towards an increasing perfection under the operation of Cosmic Evolution, forms the only basis upon which any human effort towards perfectibility can be organized. Experiences which bring this knowledge come in part from sense-contact with Realities in the sphere of objective phenomena, and in part from spirit-contact with Idealities in the sphere of subjective or psychic events. We may thus profitably regard the Heavens as man's elementary school, the Earth as his workshop, Society as his church.

“The highest perfection of natural philosophy,” says Coleridge, “would consist in the perfect spiritualization of all the laws of Nature into laws of Intuition and Intellect.” Or, again, as J. R. Lowell puts it, “Eloquence produces conviction for the moment, but it is only by truth to nature and the everlasting intuitions of mankind that those abiding influences are won that enlarge from generation to generation.”

III

THE LAW OF SOCIALIZATION

In the social integration evolution follows the line of maximum Power through the entire subordination of the lives and welfare of the individual units to a survival efficiency in the social interest which is projected beyond that of the lives and welfare or even the consciousness of these existing units. The centre of gravity in the process is beyond the individual—that is, in the future.

—B. KIDD.

As the waters move towards the sea notwithstanding obstacles impeding their course, human affairs move under a common directive impulse, notwithstanding hindrances and many a set-back, towards a centre of attraction always

in front of us and never reached. We are drawn towards a new land bearing the imprint of no human foot. We move from the Actual to the Ideal: all life a towardliness.

The pull upon the waters we term gravitation; the pull upon the mind and imagination we term socialization. The destination of this pull is the welfare of mankind.

In this world of human activities there are two facts of profound significance, providing the evidence and the illustration of this law of socialization which gives human evolution its direction. By our discernment of these facts we have recently become acquainted with the cosmic reality, Society: an organism very different from the aggregation we term a Community. The facts referred to are these:—

1. The effect of a man's action travels in space far beyond the range of his own nature, circumstance, and control; the result being that the welfare of other persons is affected by his personal action whether he will or no.

2. The effect of a man's action travels in time far beyond the term of his own life; the result being that the welfare of other times than his own is affected by his personal action whether he will or no.

From these facts we know that whatsoever each person may choose to do, and however each may choose to live, he is by every act and mode of life brought into a relation with (a) his unseen fellows and (b) his unborn successors.

The Law of Socialization compels this to be so, and increasingly so, with the ripening of Man and Society; man's personal choice and freewill residing in the manner in which, and in the extent to which, his work and life shall affect, for good or ill, the welfare of others in the present and in the future. Even here his freewill is limited by the help or hindrance which his intentions receive from the like free intentions of his fellows. We shall reach the Zion of the race not alone but in company, the backward and forward in step together.

As the minutest speck of dust is subject to the cosmic law of gravitation and is pulled nearer to the centre of the universe, so the humblest person is subject to the cosmic law of socialization and is pulled nearer to the heart of things. It gives to every man an intrinsic bent towards the better way.

What, then, is the meaning to us simple work-a-day folk of this law of socialization which reason will not permit us to deny nor prudence allow us to disregard? Its meaning is, first, that for no man can there be an isolated welfare except of a crude and brutish kind; the welfare which A can enjoy being interlocked with the welfare which B and C do actually enjoy. Secondly, the moral test of personal conduct must lie in the effect which this conduct has upon (a) the welfare of other persons than ourselves and (b) the welfare of other times than our own. The Future holds the scales and passes judgment upon the Present. Thirdly, it means that, since this law makes social obligations the paramount concern of every man from dustman to king, personal development must find its ways and means within the range of these social duties; also that a man's personal liberty must find its play within a life of frank fellowship with contemporaries. All of which means that we must move forward together, in step, as an ordered company.

Thus, the nature of a man's work and his way of doing it; the character of a man's life and his manner of living it: these are the things most worth serious concern in this world as constituted. Man being so intimately related to his contemporaries and successors, he becomes the Heir of the past, the Guardian of the future: a man ethical from top to toe, erect between the immensities of time, with one hand receiving from the past, with the other hand giving to the future. This inevitable transmission to others, in the future, of the good and evil consequence of our actions distinguishes the human unit from the animal. The life of the former may be a contribution to the immortal life

of Society, placing the man, as Shakespeare has it, "among the Immortals." The life of the latter can be nothing more than is the life of the herd, man being the only creature which can improve the environment for his descendants. Such crumbs as any one of us may gather up during life's brief day serve to develop the personal self for a task whose objective must, in the nature of things, lie outside this self. It is this transmission to the unborn of the cultural experiences gathered in our lifetime that makes possible the mental evolution of man.

This law of socialization acts not only upon Society by completing its integration, and upon the individual by deepening his ethical nature, but also upon our institutions by making them instruments of higher efficiency for the enfranchisement of man from the thralldom of his primitive ancestry.

Were it not continually brought home to us that our personal welfare is daily affected by the conduct of others,—that is, by our human environment—the self-regarding instincts would over-ride the social sentiments. It is the experience of an extended welfare, due to this bridling of personal ambitions and this curbing of anti-social activities, which provides a sanction for the self-imposition and voluntary acceptance of statutory restraints within a free state. Every marked advance of civilization has been characterized by a fresh restraint upon powers no longer found beneficial, and upon privileges which have become injurious. An increased consciousness on the part of the common folk that unity is the basic fact of a community has been the precursor of these fresh restraints leading to wider liberties. All historical facts of high social importance illustrate the operation of this cumulative force of socialization upon aggregates—a force welding a rough-and-tumble mass into an organic association of units after the pattern of the family type.

A knowledge of this law directs us towards the co-ordination of our varied activities and gives us a key

to the solution of pressing problems; it also interprets the meaning of contentions that seem disruptive—contentions that are often no more than the casting of fetters preparatory to a fresh enfranchisement and a more complete communion of interests.

The upshot of our new knowledge is this. Only under the rule of the soundest Socialism, as a principle of life, can the completest Individualism be realized. It is this individualistic end which qualifies and makes vital the social principle.

The world, pregnant with the fruit of this new conception, is ready for a new birth—a mighty advance to a higher type of individual and to a more organic type of society. Man has now a guide to show the way of progress; he has also in his conscious partnership with the forces of the universe an encouragement to set things in such order as shall make his work pleasant, his leisure fruitful, and his days glad—if not for him, then surely for his heirs. No halt should there be upon the onward march of mind towards a consummation nobler than the imagination has yet pictured; a consummation of which the political enfranchisement of peoples, the self-rule and league of nations, are portents.

In the application of this law of social evolution to the harmonization of ethics and economics, the economics of a community must surrender to the sovereignty of its ethics. In its application to the individual we must accept, as its scientific summary, the maxim, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self"—a summary formulated by spiritual intuition nearly 2,000 years before man's intellect had made itself acquainted with its basis in a universal law. By the light of the imaginative reason of to-day we are justified in saying that this maxim embraces the whole philosophy of life, while suggesting this most profound truth—the Ideal is of more practical importance than the Real.

IV

THE SOCIAL PROCESS AT WORK

I have been taught to reverence a Power
 That is the visible quality and shape
 And image of right reason ; that matures
 Her processes by stedfast laws,
 Holds up before the mind intoxicate
 With present objects, and the busy dance
 Of things that pass away, a temperate show
 Of objects that endure.....Taught
 To look with feelings of fraternal love
 Upon the unassuming things that hold
 A silent station in this beauteous world.

—W. WORDSWORTH.

THE social factor in the life of the individual being more important than any other, it may be well to enlarge upon what has been said in the last chapter. It owes its importance not only to the part it plays in making the man, but to that it plays in making mankind. It is the source of culture, the bed-rock of civilization. It creates the psychic, or spiritual medium, into which we are born. The social process plays upon man as do the sun and weather, man reacting upon it as he reacts upon the earth and climatic conditions.

As soon as man settled down with a mate or associate, nature set the social process at work, and as the individual life became more involved with the life of a large number of comrades, Society had a larger base for its operation, and the social process then became an influence of greater power over human development.

The action of the social process is twofold : it acts by binding each to all more closely, thereby unifying the whole ; it acts also upon the parts differentiating man from man. In this differentiation the extremes are composed of those who are pushing on to new conquests and those who are falling back from the line of battle. Those

who play for the marbles and those who fail to subordinate their personal ambitions to a line of conduct conducive to the interests of the future are not of the winning type in the battle whose victory is civilization. The socially fit are those whose self-maintaining activity is also advantageous to the exercise of a similar activity by their fellows, and whose action in their daily work upon the things and beings about them improves the conditions of the next generation.

Mere organization is a matter of convenience to the group life of a community. The social process, though it does to some extent work upon this machinery, chiefly works upon human nature by improving the type. It works upon human nature by endowing it with power—power of conduct in affairs, power of knowing facts scientifically, power of responding to fine emotions, power of courteous manners, power of expression, and power of setting the world in better order. Its highest power is exercised upon human sentiment, which is the impelling force in conduct. The prevailing sentiments being those associated with the play of the primitive instincts, the social process works upon man by sublimating these instincts, transforming them into secondary and social instincts which generate a nobler and more refined class of sentiment. Sensation is lifted into sentiment.

As proof of the sovereignty of the social process history provides examples enough, showing that when men combine by nation, creed, or class, using material force and deadly instruments to oppose the progress of social evolution, such combination is fatal to itself. Laws enacted at variance with the trend of social progress become inoperative, or if operative they produce revolution. Revolutions have their day of violence; monarchs their short term of arbitrary rule; governments rise and fall; creeds use physical weapons and crystallize; nations absorb nations, and peoples are enslaved or exploited; economic and political systems are made the tools of a

caste; the rich grow richer and the poor poorer—for a brief term. This term is inexorably limited; these unrealities and insincerities are in due season thrown upon the scrap-heap of civilization, at which time the evolving verities again rule in the ways and hearts of free men. The period of our thralldom to the automatic-power-machine provides an example of the temporary rule of an anti-social force, whose inhuman course will soon be running out, to give place to a renascence of the handicrafts and a revival of the countryside.

One of the most encouraging manifestations of the power of this social process over the human mind is the recent activity of man's conscious control over the conditions of his existence; and this chiefly by a collective action which proves the impulse to be widely felt. In the public control of health, the public concern for the control of births and for the seclusion of moral and physical defection; in the public guardianship of the earth's beauty by dedication of sanctuaries; in the large grants of public money for playgrounds, parks, gardens, museums, picture galleries, libraries, etc.; in these concerns there is evidence not only of a general sense that progress depends upon our all keeping together on the march, but of the conviction that we may make the road of progress as much a way of beauty as the country lane. Further, this increase of measures for social amelioration in a commercial age is to be accounted for only by the presence of a spiritual Power as an active organ of the world order. "The best men," says Professor A. E. Taylor, "are more and more pronounced in the conviction that the world requires a spiritual explanation, and that spiritual religion is a right and indispensable element in our civilization."

The social process leaves man and woman free to satisfy their temporal needs, free to develop their own natures and exercise to the full all their tastes and faculties; provided always there be no clash with whatsoever may be destined by this Power to be the welfare of the future

generation of men and women. The statutes of the community see to it that we do not interfere with the liberties and interests of fellow citizens in the present, but these statutes take little cognizance of the liberties and interests of the future.

Man's welfare is the fruit of three activities: the utilization of nature, the perfection of social instruments, the development of his own personality. To maintain this welfare for all upon the same terms, there must be some subordination of the personal to the group-interest. The social process has evolved three special institutions, under whose sway man has acquired the habit of a voluntary subordination of interests exclusively personal. These are the Family, the Workshop, and Religion. Every relation of the citizen to his family, his workshop-mate, his neighbour-citizen, country, and king, is ultimately determined, as to its loyalties, by a man's more stable relation to this unseen Power. There would be no commanding duties were it not for the homage which man has to pay to the social rule of life.

As the social process develops the social conscience, the customs, beliefs, and statutes of a community have to be altered and brought into conformity with this conscience. In obedience to this deepening of the public conscience we find a powerful propertied class making laws in restraint of its own inherited privileges. In this and other ways the social mind stamps itself upon the age, and cuts a way clean through economic, political, and caste systems, disclosing spiritual differences in personalities, as the political organization discloses and insists upon the civic similarity of citizens. This social mind is slowly constructing the human mind as it shapes the die in which the individual minds of each generation are cast, thus becoming the regulator of conduct and the solvent of custom. It is this influence of the social mind which, in transmuting the lower impulses into higher types by its action upon the imaginative reason, gives rise to an

ethical impulse inducing man, whether he win or lose, to play the game fairly; to do his bit of work truly. So powerful is this impulse that it makes one feel it were better to die having done one's best than to survive leaving the best undone. "This fiery spiritual impulsion," says Sir Francis Younghusband, "at the centre and source of things, ever burning in us, is the supremely important factor in our existence." The highest subjective result is the wakening and deepening of the consciousness of "kind"—the gens, gentleness, gentleman. This consciousness of kind promotes the love of liberty. It is the soul of fellowship.

Those persons are the best recipients of this reformatory spirit who are the least entangled in the material machinery of life, and in closest touch with nature. Hence is it that reforms are initiated from below—that is, by the people, chief among whom are the artists, craftsmen, and poets; men who, notwithstanding their sorrows and failures, get so much more out of nature and out of life than their fellows.

Further, the social conscience in her silent way acts upon the loud-voiced political organizations by giving them a more ethical outlook and motive; also upon international politics by making policies of expediency more acceptable through a savour of moral principle. Likewise, this larger human conscience acts by softening the natural antagonisms between races of different colour.

That the social conscience may act freely, we need to keep our organizations within the limits of elasticity and responsiveness; also within limits of size, or the rough mowing-machine of bureaucracy will sheer off every emerging bud. Political and religious organizations may easily grow so large they become inelastic and irresponsible, or they crystallize into infertile officiousness; too tough-skinned and too resistant to the perfecting and refining influence of the recreative social mind. An Imperial Government and a State-established Church are examples.

The days of vigour in the higher sphere of the humanities—art, science, literature, and religion—were days when government was centered in, and its rule limited to, such manageable areas and plastic groups as were the communes and burghs of Europe up to the factory period.

The creative spirit of the universe is all-pervading: it is external to man, and yet it is the breath of his nostrils. Its highest expression is in the speech of a man's life. Each should therefore keep himself as finely sensitive to the inspiration of this spirit as is the wire to the breeze; so may he catch its message of the day, to embody it in the manner of his work and in the quality of his desire. This inspired manhood is the prime factor of a progressive society. It is the inspired man who moves the masses and lays a charm upon his age—a man of the advanced poetic type upon whom the social process has laid a firm hold; the man who possesses the passion of life in most generous measure.

The evolution of man, unlike the process of the animal evolution, is not towards the acquisition of powers contributing to his own efficiency in the day's conflict with his fellows; it is towards the development of qualities contributing to the efficiency of Society in the eternal conflict between a less organic type and a more organic type. A comprehension of the nature of evolution in the world of man will throw a clearer and a warmer light upon life. The common-place man, if one may use such a term, will see his humble life as an integral part of the grand effort of the universe to reach Beauty and Perfection; the ploughman regard himself as a working partner with the Power which guides the planets in their courses and makes the goal secure for the wandering star.

The social organism we should regard as the most potent reality within the range of man's experience. So regarding it, we shall be filled with a desire to know the law of its development and the method of its operation. With such knowledge, life will reach its higher plane by

an easier gradient, and will more successfully encounter its obstacles. The thorns of self-denial will bear a sweeter fruit. These laws it is the province of sociology to investigate; hence it is the only science which directly leads to the improvement of man's nature. All other sciences deal with facts outside this province, where they supply material to be used for human needs under the guidance of sociology. Physical science invents the machine, the wise use of which social science prescribes. Hence, the importance of some knowledge of this master science is indeed great.

The long-sighted view which the historian acquires enables him to discern the influence which, as the ages roll, this unseen power of the social process exercises in an increasing degree over the characters that come and go across life's stage. The development of the winning type of man in the evolution of the species is the result of this influence felt in its most intense degree. This type the historian Froude thus describes: "Now that which especially distinguishes a high order of man from a low order of man, that which constitutes human goodness, human greatness, human nobleness, is surely not the degree of enlightenment with which men pursue their own advantage; but it is self-forgetfulness—it is self-sacrifice—it is the disregard of personal pleasure, personal indulgence, personal advantages remote or present, because some other line of conduct is more right." Or, in the time-honoured words, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

V

THE GIFTS OF INHERITANCE

No one man's belief is in any case a private matter which concerns himself alone. Our lives are guided by that general conception of the course of things which has been created by society for social purposes. Our words and modes of thought are common property fashioned and perfected from age to age; an heirloom which every succeeding generation inherits as a precious deposit and a sacred trust to be handed on to the next one, not unchanged, but enlarged and purified. Into this, for good or ill, is woven every belief of every man who has speech of his fellows. An awful privilege and an awful responsibility that we should help to create the world in which posterity will live!

—W. K. CLIFFORD.

THE fact that as generation succeeds generation the men and women of one generation are not copies of those they succeed indicates a change for the better or the worse. Over a long range of time the change is one of improvement. Such variations as arise have their origin partly in new potentialities acquired prior to birth into the world, but chiefly in new powers acquired after this birth.

The inheritance which we receive from our parents before birth is necessarily something which enters into the composition of our nature, forming part of our blood and bone. The struggle of life brings into action all the powers and faculties which we can call to our aid for a successful issue in this struggle, and this continued exercise strengthens them for an increasing efficiency. In their use these powers react in mysterious ways upon the whole contents of the body, with the result that the seed of this body carries forward the germ of a higher power, enabling the offspring to start life with a power to do, to suffer, and to enjoy, in larger measure than was possible to the parent at the same age. "Practice makes perfect"; this applies not alone to the one who practises, but to the offspring of that one. In the sphere of the

arts and crafts this storage and cumulative transmission of ability is of immense value to the community.

Among the processes which we must take into account and utilize for the common welfare is this high educability in special directions. Common experience has taught man that a son has a natural ability for the craft of his father, and out of this experience castes and apprenticeships have grown. We now know that where practice is continued after puberty the offspring will begin his practice at a point higher on the scale than that at which the parent started. Indeed, this inherited power of educability in a special direction is proportioned to the degree of facility which the parent has attained at the birth-period of the offspring; the latest born inheriting the highest power. This power, however, because it is acquired after puberty, goes, as all post-puberty characters go, with the sex; the males transmitting to the males, the females to the females. But the daughters of the skilful father will be "carriers" of his skill which will come out in their sons.

This transmission of power is of great social importance, but it cannot be developed unless all those who are performing a social service through an honourable occupation are also enjoying the same social status. The social status of a master craftsman should not be lower than that of, say, a banker. With an equality of status the young will not continually strive to rise above their father's occupation; the ambition will be to excel where an excellence has been a family distinction. History provides abundant proof that there is little risk of atrophy in other powers through following the same occupation for many generations.

Unfortunately, the excellent powers which our common folk had acquired through inherited practice have become atrophied mainly through our abuse of machinery. This abuse of automatic power at the expense of human power has not only atrophied what skill there was; it has

made it impossible for a family to build up any new power, or attain, through practice, any high quality of excellence. In the graphic and illustrative arts also it has by the abuse of the camera vitiated the taste and expelled the power for creative and interpretative art.

In addition to the inheritance of "powers" developed by exercise *after* adolescence, and perfected by practice after maturity, there is the inheritance of "qualities" which, if acquired, are only to be acquired *before* adolescence, their perfectibility not depending upon practice. This inheritance of "qualities" constitutes our chief Social inheritance, as that of "powers" constitutes our chief Biologic inheritance.

These ethical qualities—the most important of social gifts—are borne in upon us between birth and adolescence. While the feelings are susceptible to externals, and before they are hardened by a contest with adverse forces, the sentiments are given a "quality" which makes the subject one of the "winning type" in the evolutionary process of social development. These feelings consist of those virtues of heart which enable a man to transmute his primitive instincts into sources of satisfaction which will give pleasure to others as well as to himself, and to divert his personal ambitions into courses of conduct which will add to the welfare of others no less than to his own. That these qualities of heart may not be uprooted by the storms and stress of life they must be deeply implanted and linked up with undying memories, with profound and youthful emotions. The mother is the only person who can forge such links; hence it is always through the mother that we receive the most precious gifts which the social inheritance can bestow. As the character is forming, and before it takes its final and unalterable shape at puberty, the mother gently, gradually, and with loving emotion, mixes her own ingredients of soul into this receptive character, leavening

the most intensely animal propensities with the most intensely human sentiments.

Through countless ages woman has acquired the power of subordinating her own interests in the present to the interests of others in the future. She has, therefore, been developed along lines which have made her the most perfect instrument for the transmission of the social qualities. Man during the same period was developing along quite other lines—lines of self-expression and forceful combat. The need of developing “brute force,” the necessity of winning his own battles, compelled him to keep his own interests—the interests of the moment and of his own body—uppermost. With the woman it has always been “Others and the Future”; with the man, “Myself and the Present.” Woman’s work is therefore of higher importance to the race than is man’s work. She is the supreme artificer of bodies and of souls.

Because what we are is more important than what we do, the social inheritance is of more moment than the biologic. Further, because through quality of character come the chief contributions to humanity, does woman hold the key of the human treasures on whose guarded wealth the welfare of man’s future depends. That which determines the kind of civilization which a people attains is the extent to which it has developed the social conscience—that consciousness of kin which is the peculiar gift of man’s social inheritance.

Tradition is also an inherited gift of considerable importance. As units of a group we are born into an atmosphere of tradition, made up of ancestral beliefs, customs, and habits. To the influence of this common tradition upon the units of an aggregate the group-life owes its cohesion. Notwithstanding the pull of external circumstance, or the breach caused by varying conditions of prosperity and status, the lines of cleavage can never strike dangerously deep, because they are stayed by this

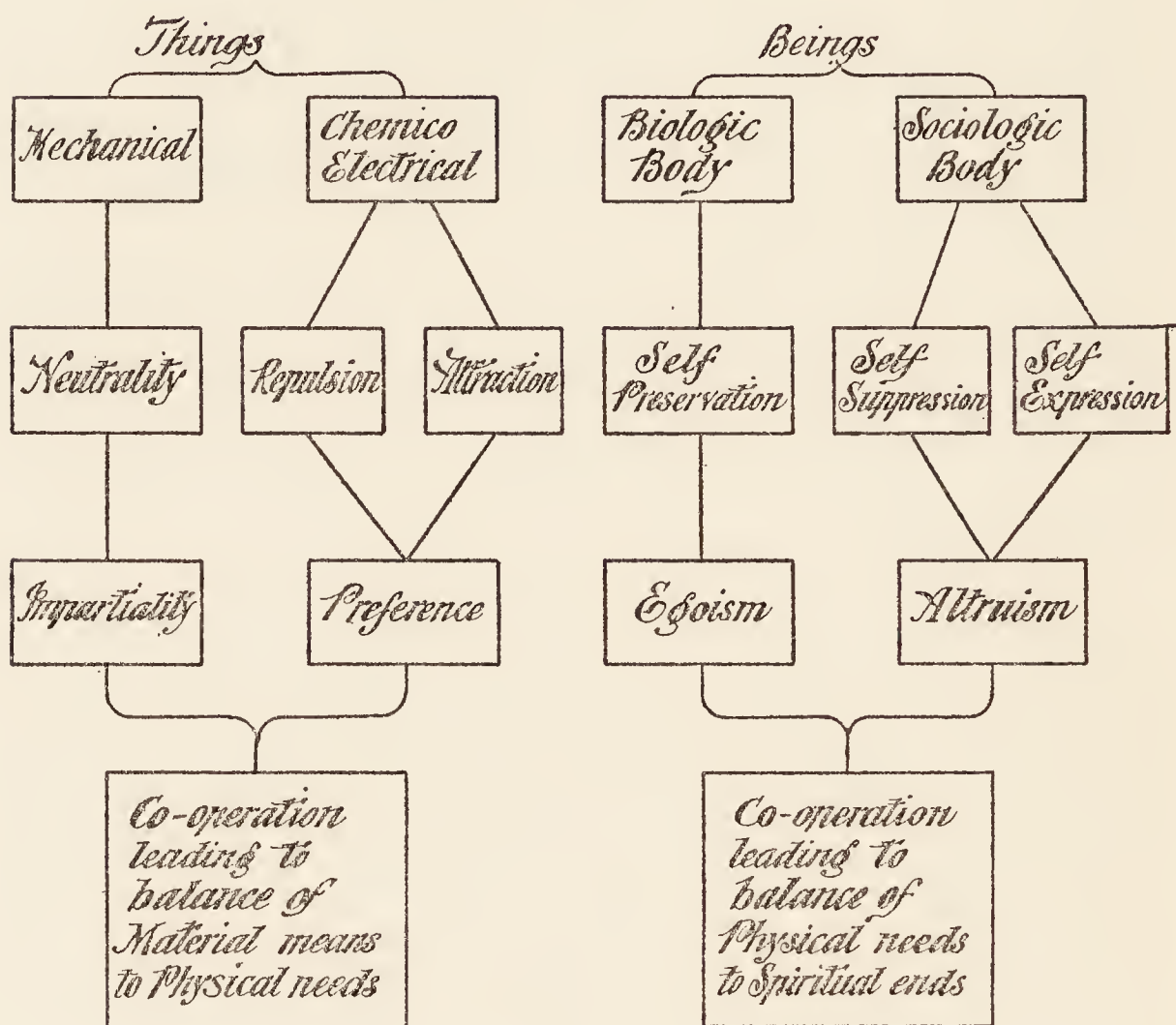
bedrock of a common tradition. Tradition, so far as it is sound and not antagonistic to new disclosures of man and of nature, becomes part of the "social mind." The strength and persistence of tradition are due to its long ancestry, much of which extends over a million years and more. It may be regarded as the concentrated public opinion of generations, colouring all our laws and philosophies; not to be shifted except very slowly by the public opinion of the living. The dominance of contract over custom in our courts of law is an instance of this shifting of tradition.

Many are the special gifts of our social inheritance embodied in our cardinal institutions—the Family, School, State, and Church. Many are interwoven in our national speech, literature, art, and legend. These we refer to in later chapters.

Man's chief enjoyment through life is drawn from these free gifts from the past. Life would be intolerable were one shut out from enjoyment of them. It becomes us, therefore, to guard them in order to hand them on to our successors, if not extended, at least undiminished. Yet in our inheritance of the gifts of the earth we are to-day most selfishly wronging our successors. Professor Soddy has put it thus: "After a hand-to-mouth existence, civilization has come in for and has learned to *spend* an inheritance it can never hope to restore. It reaps where it has not sown, and exhausts, so far without replenishing." Thus our material inheritance is being lost through squander, as our technical inheritance is being lost by neglect.

VI

THE FOUR CLASSES OF PHENOMENA AND THEIR DIVERSE MODES OF MANIFESTATION



IN our world experience we come up against a variety of phenomena. These may be classed under four heads, each class having its peculiar method of operation. These four classes are set out in the diagram, each two being paired for the better understanding of their actions, reactions, and interactions. The first pair embrace all Inorganic phenomena under their dual aspect—the Mechanical and the Chemical. The second pair embrace all Organic phenomena under the dual aspect of their Individual and Group activities: action and reaction operating differently with the individual and with the

group. It is only in a community of men that man becomes spiritualized. This spiritualization, or socialization, shows itself in the physical realm of human activity by operation becoming co-operation; in the mental realm by science becoming conscience; in the emotional realm by passion becoming compassion. It is in relating every personal activity and interest to a "perfection of the social type" that man exhibits a quality and exercises a faculty which we term the "spiritual."

Within the sphere of Mechanics we discover the law of Neutrality. The sequence of operations under this law, also the consequences of this sequence, can be accurately measured and confidently foreknown. In the sphere of Chemico-Electricity we discover the law of Attraction and Repulsion. Here we cannot so clearly follow the sequences, nor so confidently foretell the consequences. The forces operating are in polarity the one to the other. In each class of phenomena we find certain features constantly present, such as rhythmic movement and complementary polarities of impulse.

In the domain of Individualism we discover the law of Egoism in its activities of self-preservation. Here the activities are more complex and more variable; hence it is more difficult to follow the sequences and to predict the consequences of particular action.

In the domain of Socialism we are introduced to the law of Altruism in its dual aspect of self-suppression and self-expression, giving rise to Sacrifice and Expansion which are also in polarity. Neither phase of the social-self is complete without the other. This interdependence of sacrifice and expansion gives meaning to the saying, "Whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it." There is a constant rhythmic movement, to and fro, between the poles of Sacrifice and Expansion.

An exclusive study of the laws operating in any one class of phenomena is apt to give the mind a bias, and thus lead to the interpretation of activities in other

spheres in the terms applicable only to those activities which have been the subject of special study. Hence the frequent mechanical interpretation of social phenomena; also the frequent attempts to treat persons as though they were machines or animals and to regard Society as the mere aggregate of persons living in the present.

Our study of Society has brought us to the knowledge that in the development of the best-self, by an awakening to the claims of others, there is a realization of the truth that Egoism and Altruism are not so much antagonists as polar opposites; each essential to the free development and restrained play of the other, strong character and strong sympathy being so frequently associated. Here also we discover that Materialism is not the antithesis of Spiritualism, but each the complement of the other, the two together forming a rational synthesis. A dividing line between mind and matter, between the organic and inorganic, the living or non-living, exists not in fact, but only in thought. We may regard man as swinging freely between the two poles of sound Individualism and sound Socialism, between the Material and the Spiritual; and relating himself to each as each in its turn ministers to life's perfection. The reader should, however, understand that what we mean by matter is a concrete fact; and what we mean by spirit is an abstract idea, or a subjective concept. To see only the world of Beings as so often does the Theologian, or to see only the world of Things as always does the Communist, is to see the world with one eye only, and to cause a stunting of both the human intelligence and the social sympathies. The value of this classification of phenomena will be apparent when we pass from the study of the physical basis of life to the study of its spiritual superstructure whose substance is psychic.

Since everything in this universe is a "becoming," a movement from that which has been to that which is to

be, we get a series of opposites, the one the obverse and necessity of the other. There would be no goodness were there not a badness; no light without darkness, no time without eternity, no summer without its winter, no beauty without ugliness. In these polar opposites the one is attractive, the other repellent; the one positive, the other negative. Education makes our nature more responsive to that which in this dualism is attractive and positive.

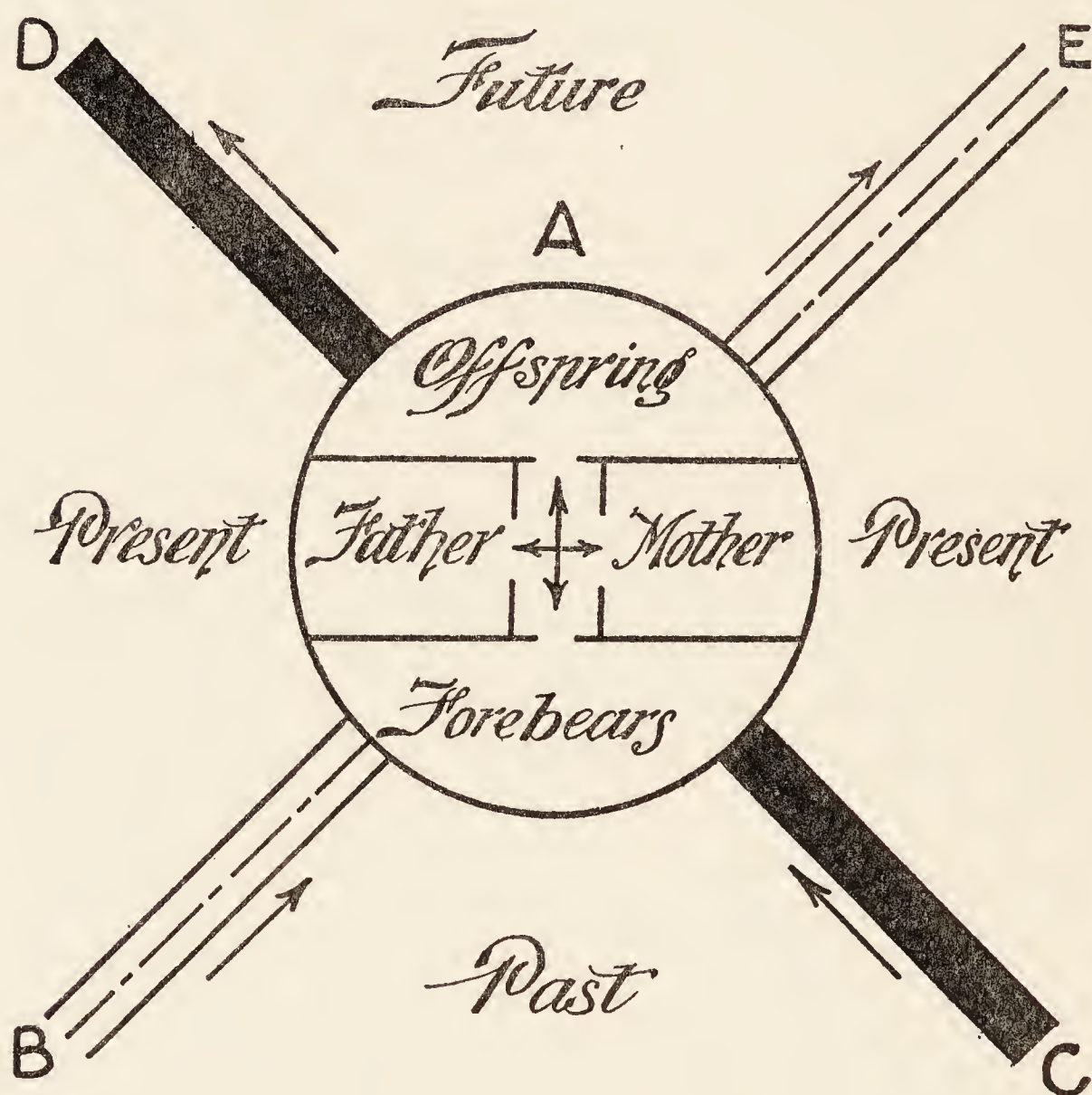
VII

THE FAMILY: THE GROUP-UNIT

THE Family is the smallest human element possessing within itself all the properties vital to a Community. It is the unit of the Kingdom of George V, in the same sense as the individual is held to be the unit of the Kingdom of Christ. By the term "Family" we mean that integral unit consisting of Male Parent, Female Parent, and Offspring. Nowhere in the animal kingdom does this integral unit appear as a stable form. Its constitution, integrity, and stability are the first outward manifestations of man as a social and ethical being. It arose early in human evolution, and has introduced into human life a feature which has made the progressive education of the human race a possibility. This permanence and integrity of the family-life, through a long period in the life of each generation, has enabled parents to teach their young throughout a long and impressionable period. The parent has time to transmit, and the offspring time to gather, the social inheritance of which we have already spoken.

The Family is the starting-point from which the consciousness of Kind emanates as a motive of association. Civilization transforms this blood-bond into bonds

increasingly spiritual or social. The institution of the Family is so deeply rooted in the early ancestry of man—the traditions which have grown up around it are so interwoven with habits and sentiments now become a second nature, that its integrity cannot be broken without disruption of the Social life as at present constituted upon its basis.



Considered from the economic standpoint, the Father maintains the Family and its Homestead by his occupational work, while the Mother manages its economy. She is also primarily responsible for the upbringing and care of the offspring through their long infancy. There is complete economic co-operation between the Family and the Community. The Community is responsible for the maintenance of the Family, in return for which the

Father makes what contribution he can through his work to the maintenance of the Community, and the Mother, by her rearing of children, makes also her contribution. Thus, through the Institution of the Family, the elemental needs of a Community are provided for in its physical maintenance and its physical continuity. In the Family, considered as an Institution, are included those men and women who by their loyal service contribute to the comfort of the Homestead. The first security of Citizenship is, then, in the security of the Homestead.

The Family Circle embraces the three dimensions of Time—the Past by the Forebears, the Present by the Parents, the Future by the Offspring. That which the Family inherits from its forebears is indicated in the diagram by B and C; the one indicating their gift of life, the other their contribution to the equipment of the family at its start. D and E indicate the like gifts hereafter to be bestowed by the offspring upon their families. The family, considered from the social standpoint, is dealt with in a later chapter. There, and everywhere throughout this work, we shall see it as the “type” to which all social organizations gradually conform.

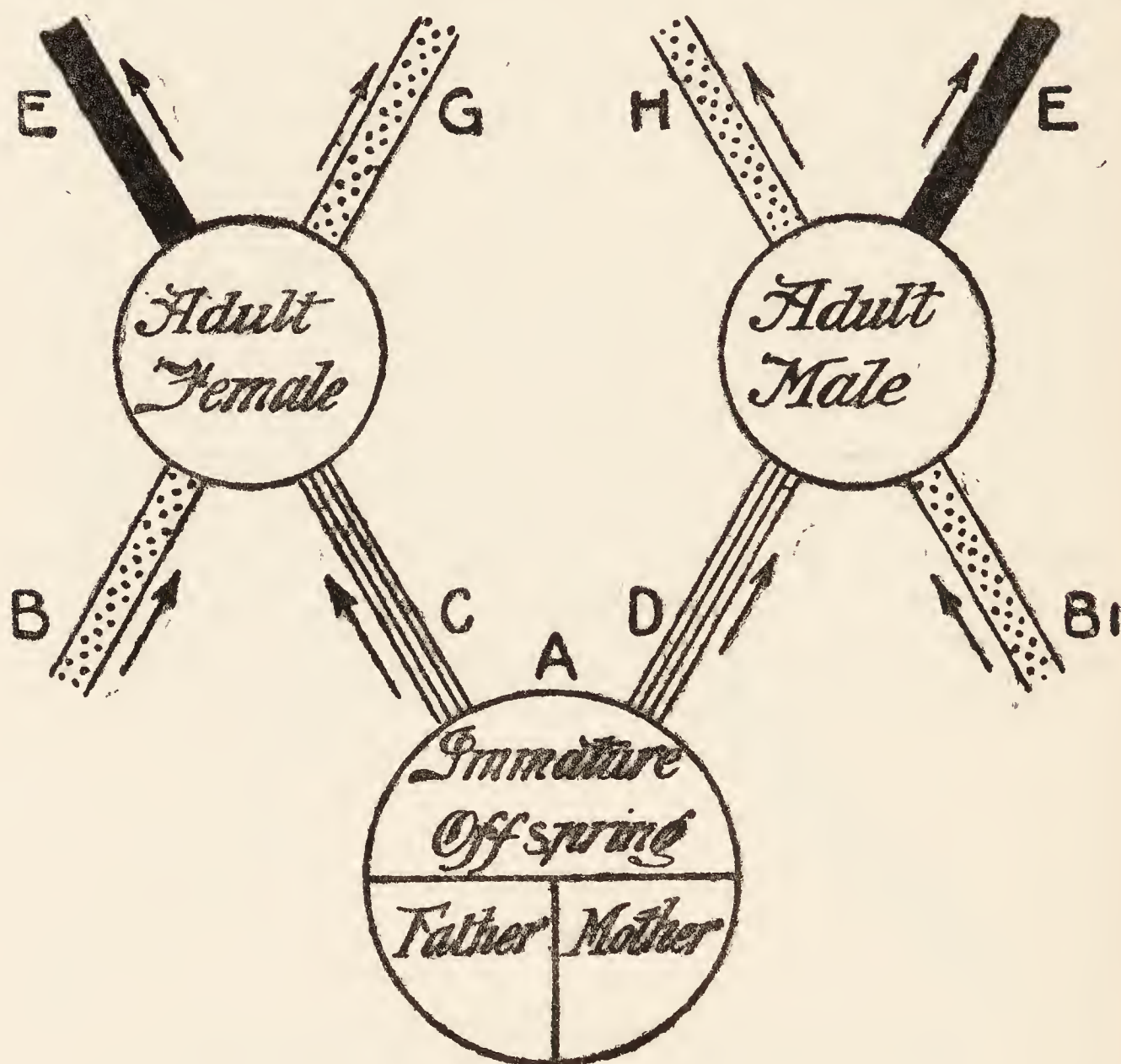
VIII

THE FAMILY AND ITS OFFSHOOTS

THIS next diagram indicates the Family in the act of throwing off its offspring to fend for themselves as citizens, this change necessitating an economic readjustment within the family. While bringing up the offspring, the Father has been receiving a pay adjusted to the cost of the “family upbringing.” As he is freed from this economic liability by the earning power of his children his pay should

gradually be lowered to the level of the "parental-maintenance-cost."

The sons, as they qualify for their pursuit, will receive the full "*parental-maintenance-wage*" (B1), a portion of which (H) will be funded with their Occupation-Guild against the time of their marriage, thus creating a fund



with their Guilds, for future use as marriage dowry. C and D indicate such assistance and counsel as these sons and daughters may still receive from their parents for the establishment of the future Homestead.

The daughters engaged in appropriate tasks will receive a full "*individual-maintenance-wage*" (B). Being still assisted by the parental home, they will fund their

surplus (G). The special services which sons and daughters contribute to the community through their pursuits is shown by E.

By these readjustments of pay to the domestic variations in the cost of living the community is protected against surcharges, and the individual is encouraged to make preparation for the future.

The task of child-rearing being accomplished, parents should enjoy an increase of leisure, with opportunity for putting to social service their accumulated experience and wisdom.

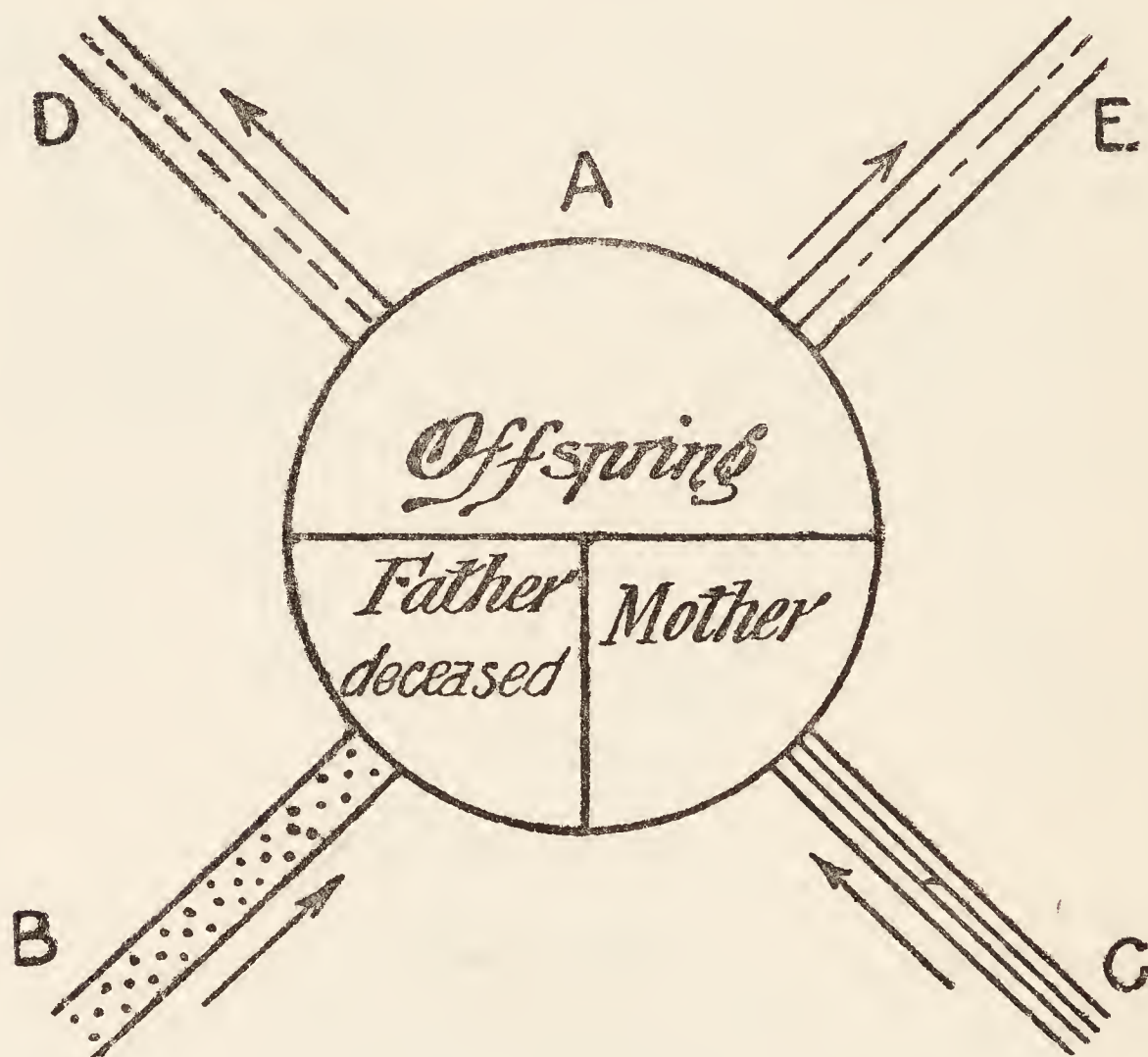
It should be carefully noted that the term "wage" means nothing other than the receipt by the citizen of such portion of the common output as each is entitled to by right of his function and domestic obligations. It is *not* a pay for work done.

IX

THE FATHERLESS FAMILY

IN the event of the premature death or incapacity of the Father the maintenance of the Family is made secure by the Widow, or Mother, receiving through her husband's guild a pension (B) that shall suffice to uphold the Homestead and bring up the immature offspring. C represents all those communal benefits which every citizen-family enjoys, and to the cost of which each should contribute its share by Tithe, Tax, and Rate. D and E represent the contributions—material and personal—which the offspring are being prepared to render to the Community in return for the benefits which they are now receiving from the Community through one or both of their parents.

In this way of dealing with the economic situation brought about by death or incapacity we acknowledge in a practical manner the economic truth that All maintain Each, and Each maintains All. Further, that the Corporate Body is ultimately responsible for the security and maintenance of its members as the result of the



subordination of the little self-interests to the big collective-interest. To ensure this security a continual sacrifice throughout the occupational life should be made by every adult. Special ability or privileged opportunity on the part of any member should not be made a means of taking from the common output more than is required to satisfy the "maintenance-needs" of that member; the ability not being his creation.

X

THE FAMILY AS THE CRADLE OF THE
VIRTUES

In all great constructive work neither correct principles nor good intentions suffice to ensure success ; in the last resort it is a question of human character and human wisdom. —PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY.

IN previous chapters the Family has been regarded as the unit of a Community ; we have now to regard it as the seed-bed of Character. In the making of man there are three essentials : Bodily vigour, Mental equipment, Moral character. The germs of these we inherit from our forebears, but their final cast is permanently fixed by the nurture of the home. Within the home is built the most beautiful thing man knows—a fine character. Character is largely the result of a trained sense and free play of the Loyalties and Moralities. The circle which gathers round the hearth, and in particular round the mother, is a nursery of those virtues which regulate our relations with others—the virtues of conduct.

Personal, domestic, and political morality—in a word, “manners”—spring from the Conjugal, Filial, Fraternal, and Parental loves. Conscience is the spiritual product of these familiar sentiments, while moral conduct is their social expression.

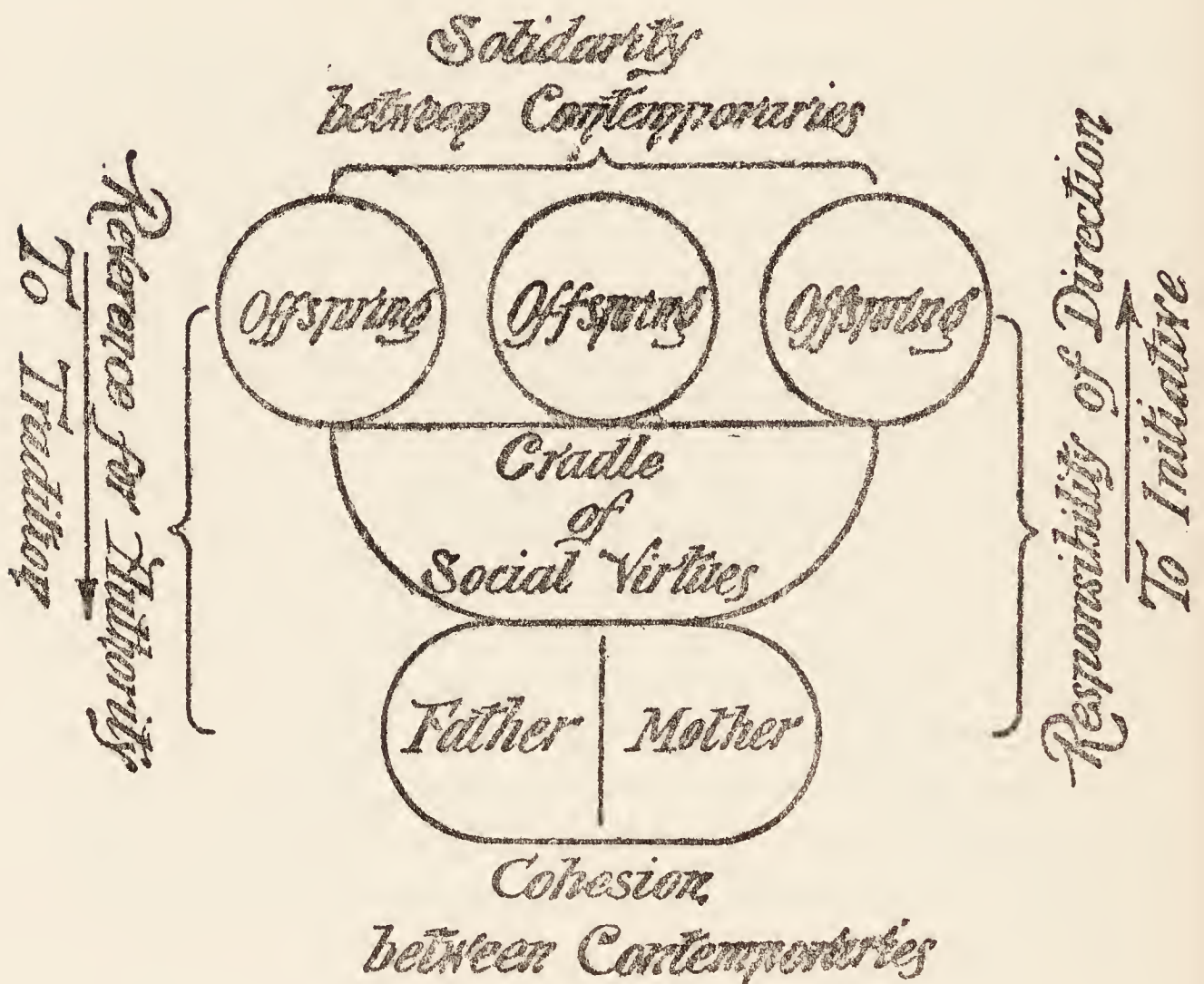
Filial love—the love which children bear to parents—is the starting-point of moral education, fortifying the sense of continuity. This love is projected by memory into the past, engendering reverence for ancestors, respect for elders, and esteem for tradition.

Brotherly love implants the sentiment of solidarity and establishes at the most impressionable age a desire for sympathetic union with contemporaries—a union devoid of sinister motives.

The Conjugal love gives rise to the most beautiful of

all human experiences and to emotions the most intense and profound. The universal attractiveness of opposites, seen here at its fullest power, produces the flower of comradeship, and in its maturity yields the fruit of immortality through the continuity of the race.

Parental love crowns the whole, stimulating the desire for successors to carry on the family tradition and expand



its heritage. This love also encourages a sacrifice of self for the welfare of others in a future which few parents will see. The care of the weak by the strong also promotes the growth of the altruistic sentiment of which it is an expression. This parental love binds us to the future as the filial love binds us to the past.

Under the influence of a religious ideal this love of family, or kin, is extended till it embraces mankind ; while midway it generates Patriotism.

Out of the relation of parents to offspring and to those helping to maintain the Homestead arises the responsibility of direction leading up to the birth of an initiative. This responsibility of direction is one which falls upon every kind of experience, and upon the fulfilment of this duty by the experienced our inexperience must ever rely. This natural, or familiar, responsibility of experience provides the rational basis of all authority, political and spiritual. Hence, the common-sense decrees that where there is neither experience nor wisdom the power of authority should not reside. Further, out of the relation of children to their parents will naturally grow that sense of reverence for experience upon which the government of a free manhood must rely for a submission to its authority.

Within the family have grown up through the ages the two types of government which, the world over, regulate every progressive community. (1) The secular control over the common physical activities and civil relationships. (2) The spiritual guidance of the emotional activities and moral relationships. The first coming through the father, and the second coming through the mother.

In a well-ordered family this guidance and control are so qualified and so wisely exercised that the young are little conscious either of a restraint upon their freedom or of any moulding influence upon their spirit, save where a harmful course is ventured upon or a vicious habit becomes apparent. Upon this ancient domestic model is moulded the government of the people to-day, first by the Church, and secondly by the State. In its more developed form a people will be as little conscious of control by these powers as are the young folk in a family.

In the family, government is the least pronounced in its formal inhibitions. In the discipline of the school it becomes more pronounced in these inhibitions, until the "school-spirit" becomes the sovereign influence; while,

for the present, in the civic sphere social inhibitions are rigidly defined and associated with penalties for their breach. In each sphere of life restraint is imposed solely for the sake of a larger freedom in personal development, and a wider range of welfare for those who will bear the lamp of life after our light is extinguished.

In the diagram representing the family group (chapter vii) will be seen a central $+$ which indicates the two cardinal influences at work in the family, as also in every group derived from the family. The one influence acts upward and downward, making for Authority and Obedience between members of different age, rank, and experience. The other influence acts from side to side, through and through, making for Comradeship and Solidarity between those of every age, rank, and experience. As the one influence becomes the more extensive, the other grows more intensive—a gaining strength in every way. Hence, in all phases of life we find an intense affection giving rise to its correlative, a catholic sympathy, and these ennobled by a sense of restraint imposed and borne.

To maintain cohesion, permanence, and altruism within the family relationships—qualities upon which the stability of society depends—the union of parents each with the other and with their children should be complete and stable. For the most practical of reasons—namely, to establish the soundest form of group-life—has marriage been made a social sacrament; its ritual from primitive days performed by the holy men, or elders, in the presence of a congregation of kin.

The two polarized forces operating within the family cause a movement in two opposite directions—one drawing each member towards the other for converging companionship and support; the other drawing one member from another for diverging initiatives and self-reliance due to differences of character and aptitude. Thus are friendships founded upon the varied interplay of person-

alities. The happy marriage becomes the pivot on which the social body spins its round of complex life; balancing the divergences which make for the richness of growth, with the convergences which make for the unity of spirit—a bulwark against ill fortune; a joy more intense in good fortune.

The Family necessarily includes a Homestead. Neither can exist without the other. Throughout the distant past the Homestead was inalienable, its hearth a holy place and the seat of government. Here, to-day, within the home develops the virtue of order, which has its root in things, beside the virtue of love, which has its root in beings. In maintaining order in the things and places about one, our sense of beauty grows up; Order ever the starting-point of beauty.

We have seen that the family is the natural training ground of Citizenship; but in order that youth may apprentice itself to the world, live its own life, and purchase its own experiences, parents should gradually release youth from submission. The attitude of the parent should ultimately take the form, not of protector or of controller, but of counsellor. For this right use of parenthood, during its different stages, parents have almost as much to learn as have the children. The first lesson to be learnt is to hold the heart without tying the hand. If the Mother has failed to teach the child, she will never know how to teach the youth; yet, if the child has been well taught, the youth's nature will develop itself along lines already laid. The parent has to learn that the offspring is not a copy of the parent. The child has its own pattern, and this pattern can be perfected only by a freedom of experience in the big world. In the family the seeds of a religion germinate when the relationships within it are made permanent by an abiding love; but when the parental relations become capricious and unstable there is no religion of the household to develop.

The test of domestic rectitude is its efficiency as a

formative instrument of the future. In the family lies the germ of the future: as are the families to-day such will be the aggregate of families—the nation—to-morrow.

For the politician, the family provides the soundest and most acceptable, because familiar, type of government. For the economist it provides the most efficient type of wealth distribution—to each according to his need. For the socialist it provides the most stable type of interpersonal relationships.

It is in the Family that we first feel the influence of that cosmic process operating throughout the human sphere which is blending into a Oneness, or Society, the diversity of individualism, making the man ever more socially efficient and ethical.

To-day we see the religious-proprietary family of ancient type, fertile of so many social characteristics, being slowly transformed into the romantic family type wherein individual growth may have a freer play, affection be less interested and more spontaneous. It may be that in this manner the family and society are together reaching a higher ethical type. Anyway, it is through the family that civilization is most vulnerable, because it is the seed-bed of the virtues. Many are the virtues which give grace or strength to character, but there are four virtues which alone enable a man to contribute a grace to his civilization and a strength to his country. These are the cardinal virtues of Prudence, Temperance, Justice, and Fortitude—which virtues, if they get no root hold during the tender years of one's life, will never germinate in the rough-and-tumble life of the world, the lack of them leaving a man unworthy of his country and unfit for citizenship. Dante describes them as the four stars guiding the practical life.

XI

WIFEHOOD AND MOTHERHOOD

TIME has brought upon its wing many changes in its flight through the ages. No one of these is more important than the change in our conception of what is "wholesome" in the relation between the man and the woman considered as mates. In the past every union was primarily for the procreation of children, and to this end the man became the dominant partner. To this end also did he make the union indissoluble, and restricted it within the barrier of caste, and outside the vicinity of blood relationship. These conditions served the purposes of a military regime, physical fitness, the inheritance of property through the male, the permanent prestige of the family name, rank and tradition, through the male heirs. Woman had to pay for the loss of these social advantages, yet with an unforeseen gain of social power unattainable by her dominant mate busy in the battle or the chase.

To-day we have passed beyond the period of military domination. Property is no longer the exclusive inheritance of the male heirs. Social rank is more extensive and varied. Unions are made for other purposes than the procreation of children, and in many cases with this purpose deliberately barred. These changes have reacted upon both the man's and the woman's conception of sexual unions. Enfranchisement has taken place here as elsewhere. And in the case of the woman this liberation has been hastened by recent abnormal economic conditions. In this too rapid response to the liberating impulse, the stability of the family has been shaken; liberation has gone beyond the mere union of mates: it has entered the socially sacred precincts of the family—parents and offspring.

Greater knowledge of natural law, a deeper reverence

for natural function, is now, however, directing this enfranchisement by placing upon a broader and more spiritual basis the union of the sexes. The body is making peace with the soul and the soul with the body. The social conscience will no longer permit us to esteem any union which does not equally satisfy the needs of body and spirit. Of such complete union the sole test is Love. Love being recognized as the supreme test, any union, legal or other, which is not inspired by love will be held immoral; any union wherein love rules will be held to be moral and worthy of honour by those whose sense of right and wrong is finely discriminating.

Children cannot mature into wholesomely-minded citizens unless brought up in an atmosphere of love; consequently, the community is concerned where the unrestrained freedom of either parent leads to a breach in the bond between the two. An adult who has become a parent has tacitly entered into a bond with society, and such bond should not be broken without the consent of society. Subject to such restriction, any union not entered into for the procreation of children will be sanctified by love and sanctioned by society in the future.

If a man and woman have loved each other to the point of mating and raising offspring, and afterward determine to break the family circle and have their children brought up in the atmosphere of a broken love rather than continue living together, no power on earth can compel them to live together, nor should it if it could. There is loss all round which must be suffered. Such abnormal conditions are exceptional.

With regard to Motherhood, this will ever be the prime function of woman. The giving birth to offspring is a gift that is hers only, and through this giving of herself there comes a richer development of her nature. The development of character in her progeny through her influence is also her most precious contribution to the perfecting of her species. These abilities exalt women to

the loftiest pinnacle of achievement: and this achievement, of which most women are capable, is the desire of all. Owing, however, to the abnormal conditions due to mass production as part of a competitive system, there are many women who cannot satisfy the normal needs of their nature without a trespass upon contemporary conventions which have outlived their service. The larger ethic which will rule in these matters will impose new restraints while permitting new liberties. It will restrain women from bearing children who are not the fruit of a mutual love; it will restrain those from bearing children predisposed to definite disease or defects. The fulfilment of these obligations should satisfy the demands of social welfare. Outside these restraints the personal welfare should come into its larger liberty, the individual be free to attain the full compass of his or her development through any union which Love may fuse. "If love," says Sir Francis Younghusband, "is to unfold its most perfect bloom it needs be utterly free; but not till human nature is more perfect can the ideal of liberated love be reached."

Economic considerations are, however, involved in this new freedom of the erotic life. Since that which the woman has to give is of more value to the community and to the future than is any gift which man can bestow, and since the woman throughout her erotic life, and to a higher degree during her breeding period, is more sensitive to external circumstances than is man, some special protection against the rude blasts of misfortune should be afforded to women. The manhood of the nation may well make the economic maintenance of its womanhood secure from the necessity of hewing and carrying, in competition with the stronger sex, to get her bread. The man should win his bread not for himself alone but for her. This the man, individually, admits and generally does; this the men, collectively, should admit and do. Such bare elementary maintenance as is essential to health might

be a first charge upon the collective, or national, expenditure, and thus would her maintenance be drawn from an impersonal source: a condition necessary to the full liberation of women. Every woman, whether living in partnership with a man or not, should be entitled, by virtue of her womanhood, to claim this pension from the State on reaching maturity. The fact that bread and shelter would always be theirs would save many women from a penury disgraceful to our civilization, or from a labour injurious to their nature. Further, such elementary maintenance from an impersonal source would liberate woman from the degradation of having to purchase her erotic life at a price set by the man. Great would be the gain of an economic enfranchisement of womanhood which, in the nature of things, must precede her erotic enfranchisement. Thus liberated, her special gifts may then without jeopardy be consecrated to the exaltation of mankind, she herself being free to develop to the full those tender and spiritual qualities which cause human life to rise above the life of the animal; free also for those higher purposes of the future which it has ever been her mission to foster and to forward.

If the spiritual and educative functions are properly made a first charge upon the collective expenditure, the more important educative function of Womanhood may properly be made a charge upon the national fund.

Nature has ordered that the desire for motherhood should ever be the noblest and most precious instinct of the race. Religion, therefore, should magnify it, encourage it, guard it, liberate it, and, where need be, control it: in no case consent to its being subject to man's caprice, passion, or power.

Social ethics, then, demands that no barrier be erected to prevent a woman from fulfilling her social destiny by such intercourse with a man as shall fertilize the fruit of her body; or by such spiritual comradeship with man as shall enrich her nature by the giving and receiving of

Love. So far as is possible, every motive for union should be removed, restrained, and condemned, save this one motive of perfecting, or extending, human nature through Love.

XII

THE COMMUNITY: ITS COMPOSITION AND CONSTITUTION

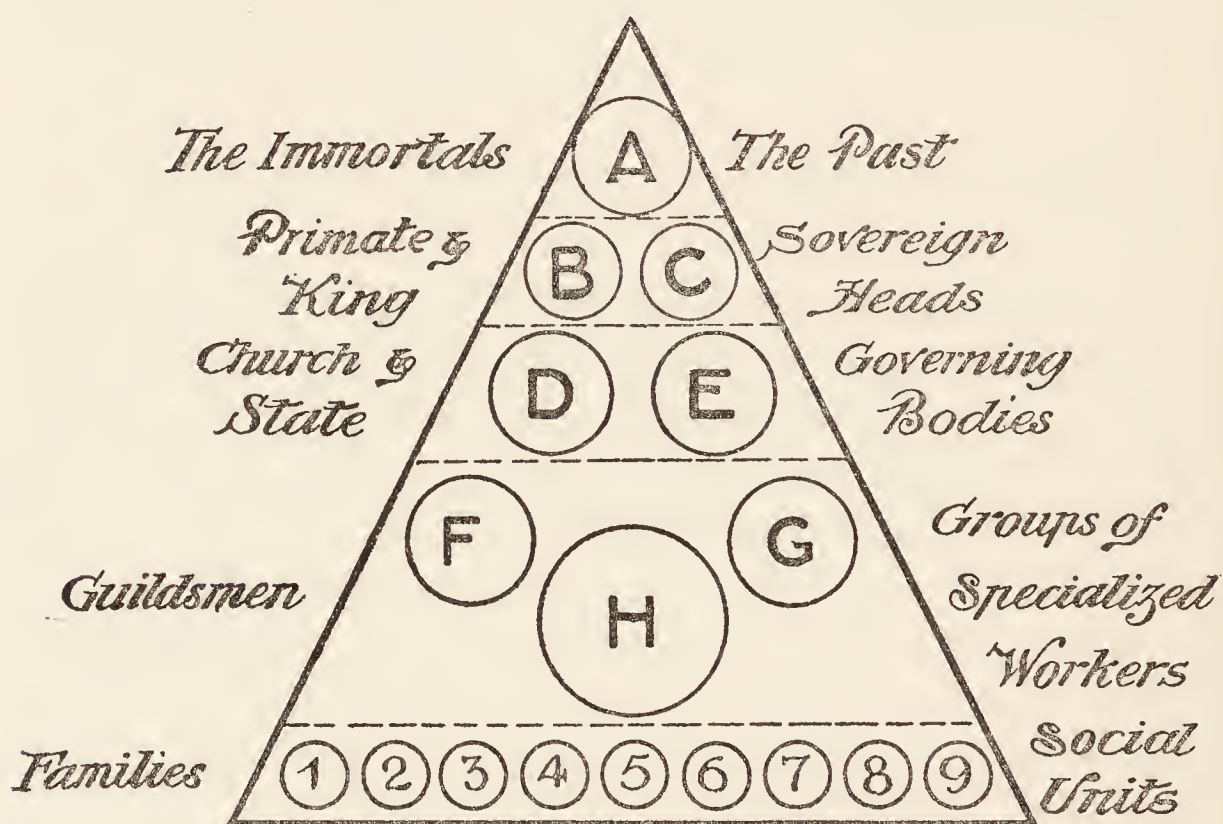
Society is a partnership between the dead and those to be born.

E. BURKE.

MAN is a being whose social instincts lead him to form congregational groups. Into this group-life there soon enters a common desire for a closer association, with a view to a higher efficiency in the work that needs to be done. This working association leads to an ordered co-operation, under which the common wants are supplied by workers of varied types who are brought under a sifting process which results in a happy correspondence between natural ability and productive function. As group after group unifies and segregates its component elements into ordered ranks, as it develops its productive and regulative constitutional system, group is interlocked with group and we get what is called a "Community." Such an aggregate acquires a collective consciousness—a nationalism or a patriotism. A community is therefore the outcome of a series of groups co-operating for a common end; and this process of accretion and of increasing integration marks the character of its constitution. In its composition it is made up of families or households; the families being of mixed race, of diverse creeds, and of differentiated types of character, ability, and affluence. As well might one hope to make a ball of

sand without some element to bind the discrete grains together as to unite in one homogeneous body these differing human personalities without some element binding individual to individual and group to group. This element, as we shall see, is provided by the Constitution of the Community.

The Constitution of a Community depends upon the functional balance and co-operative working of its members. Its evolution becomes therefore a matter of increasing integration and co-operation. Individual



welfare is possible only as an interaction of the collective welfare. As a precedent to this welfare the individual surrenders his natural right in return for the security of civil and judicial rights. Hence, mere number cannot make a Community. The diversity of men living and co-operating upon the same terms: this makes a Community.

It may help us to comprehend what a Community is, and what is the true relation of each member to this community, if we picture it in our mind as a vast human tree. The leaves would represent the living personalities

whose life is only for a season. The twigs and branches are its institutions, which increase in strength and maintaining power season after season. The trunk which unifies these branch institutions is the sustaining State. Its roots are our traditions, customs, and fundamental beliefs. As the leaves get their nourishment in part from the environment and in part from the parental tree, so does the individual get his nourishment in part from the community as a whole and in part from the world outside it. A leaf has no life of its own apart from the life of the tree, nor has an individual any life apart from the common life of the community. As the leaves add strength to the tree as well as draw strength from it, so do individuals contribute to the common life as well as draw upon that life for their spiritual and physical growth. Here the mutuality of life is complete, also the intimate relationship of the part to the whole and of the whole to the part—a complete, beneficent, and beautiful reciprocity. Every power or possession we enjoy is derived from our vital relation to the community on one side and to nature on the other. The soil, sun, and air give us their gifts, which we can enjoy only through our intimate connection with the living mechanism of the community; consequently, the more close our relation to others the more extensive will be the gifts we may enjoy. This tie of the man to his community is the strongest tie we have—a tie that cannot be severed without social death. A man will lay down his life for his country.

The functional elements forming the organic constitution of the community may be classed in three categories—those dealing with Production; those dealing with Distribution or Apportionment; those dealing with Regulation. These are each the subject of separate chapters.

The development of this group-life has imposed a law or rule of life upon every individual born into a community. This law compels every able and adult member to make some contribution towards the maintenance of

the community through its productive and distributive system; also to make a voluntary submission to the will of the community as expressed through its regulative system. In our going and coming, in our work and leisure, in our pains and pleasures, we are hourly reminded of our interdependence, and for the necessity of personal comfort to an obedience to this hive-law of voluntary contribution and willing submission.

Upon the intelligent recognition of our personal relationship to the community, and upon the full and honourable fulfilment of the duties imposed by this relationship, will depend the progress of our national welfare and the quality of our particular civilization. Consequently, where there is, for example, an antagonism created by tastes that are exclusive, unless these give way to tastes that are more general, a disruptive tendency is manifest.

The stability and the health of the group-structure, as an organic body, is to be secured only by the maintenance of an equilibrium between the several functions. The structure may have too narrow a base of life-sustaining production; it may be top-heavy with the black-coated crowd of parasites living upon the primary producers. It may throw its most active energies into a quantitative production to the detriment of quality. Again, it may rely too much upon contributions from external groups, leaving many within the home-group unemployed. Or the distributors may eat too much of the bread of the producers. In addition to these obstacles to welfare there are evils caused by the different rate of progress in the diverse activities which together keep the public body in health. A varied rate of advance in Law, Ethics, Politics, Philosophy, Economics, or Religion will conduce to disease, and may produce revolt. Peace and prosperity require a harmonious advance in all matters vitally contributing to the group-life.

The claim of the collective body upon the individual for his allegiance to the general welfare is based upon the

common desire for personal comfort and liberty. This comfort which an individual living within a group can enjoy is strictly limited by the degree and the kind of comfort which is generally enjoyed throughout the group. The individual can attain his full liberty only when he strictly relates his activities to the equal right of liberty on the part of all others; his liberty being dependent upon their liberty. No amount of money, power, or privilege can alter these conditions of a real freedom.

Every aggregate must be governed by some system under which the diverse activities of the units are co-ordinated, since any one sectional interest, by circumstance and in the absence of an over-riding control, might be placed at the mercy of other sectional interests. The conditions of sound association involve the voluntary co-operation of all units upon the same terms. The conscious purpose of this co-operation will define the nature of the co-ordinating system, or regulative principle. It may be one of two kinds. The conscious purpose may be either the principle of a restrained Individualism, or it may be the principle of an unrestrained Collectivism, or Communism.

Under the principle of Individualism, the function of the State will be limited to the maintenance of the liberty of the individual against aggression within and from without—the former by administration of justice, the latter by defensive measures and by treaties. This principle of Individualism involves the admission that the general welfare is best secured under the fullest liberty of the individual that is compatible with the condition of human aggregation and social integration.

Under the alternative principle of Collectivism the State is regarded as a Super-individual, to whose welfare the claims of any individual welfare must be secondary. It is the application of the herd-system to the human-hive. Society is ignored and man renounced in the idolatry of the State.

All through this work it is assumed that the *governing system of the Community is that of a restrained Individualism*.

Under this system it is possible for both individual and social development to be carried on harmoniously. As development takes place and as a community enlarges, the relations of member to member become more complex, types of personality become more varied and differentiated; also, a larger number of families must live remote from the sources of physical maintenance. These conditions will call for a more perfect system of distribution and co-ordination, to which should be added a process of decentralization, since the imperfect development of a few is sufficient to deteriorate the general welfare.

We are so bound together by invisible links that if some upon the chain are pulling back, others cannot go forward. Hence, we are to-day so much concerned with measures for raising the general standard of health and education; "One and All" being the motto of a community.

The constitution of a community, though in part the result of conscious plan, is subject to the full operation of the law of Evolution. Under the operation of this law there is on one side an increasing differentiation of functions giving rise to special organizations and institutions; on the other side there is an increasing integration of the component members into a closer unity and interdependence. We may liken the composition to the grouping of cells in an organism; the Constitution we may liken to the different tissues and organs—always remembering, however, that the community is a *simple* organism composed of cells that are in themselves *complex*, all other organisms being in themselves *complex*, but composed of *simple* cells. Further, in all animal and vegetable organisms the cell has no life of its own; it has become in itself degraded by its integration with a nobler

compound. In a community each unit has a life of its own, and becomes more highly developed by its integration with a nobler compound. Man's life is made richer through his incorporation with the social Body. That in order to live his life in association with others a man must surrender somewhat in one direction to gain somewhat in other directions, is true; but were not the gain greater than the loss, communities would not long survive. This personal surrender may be considered as an adjustment of the man to his environment.

The hive-law is such that it ultimately breaks up any class, or group, which has become antagonistic to the welfare of the hive through exclusive interests or dividing inequalities. What are termed anti-social acts are thus ultimately suicidal to the individual or to the class practising them. Between group and group, as between individual and individual, there must be a complete symbiosis, though one may be a useful parasite, the other a hospitable host. When, however, the parasite gives no useful service for food there is an antagonistic interest. In our community to-day there are such unserviceable parasites, by no means among the rich only: these are automatically destroyed by the vital energies of the group-life.

The Community is the oldest human organization. In its primitive form as a village community its composition and constitution were very similar all the world over. Its origin was in the blood-bond of a common ancestry; it was thus a family, clan, or gens. However large an aggregate may grow, this character of kinship remains fundamental, and gives to its members a common standard of conduct. Thus the community, of which we are all members, with King George as the Headman, is, historically, an organic extension of the family circle—which fact requires that conduct within the spheres of public and private activity shall approximate the rule of the household. Around the ancestral fire, which was never

allowed to die out, there grew up that body of sentiment, tradition, and religion which forms the core of a community, and around which core the divergent personalities are firmly cemented. The Homestead, including the home, farm-buildings, and land, constituted the group-unit, and until quite recent times this was the political unit. Here was laid the structural framework of our agricultural, economic, regulative, and religious systems. Thus, when we regard our several personal relations to the whole as a relationship between one member of a family and another of the same family, we are on solid historical ground—the direct line upon which the grand evolution of man is proceeding.

This lesson from history is of value, as well as being of interest. It teaches us that all our human institutions, beliefs, customs, and sentiments are the traditional products of countless ages, and that they should not suddenly or for slight reason be changed. Further, when foundations are laid thus deep and broad, to what height may we not build if we understand our material, learn our craft, and are sincere of purpose !

For the better understanding of the distinction between that which we term a “Community” and that which we term “Society,” we place in parallel columns the main features of each :—

COMMUNITY	SOCIETY
It is a product of man's economic experiences.	It is a product of the Social process.
It is an aggregate of families organized into some kind of solidarity for the better security of the common property and the fuller satisfaction of the personal life.	It is a Power ; not a body. It is organically subject to a process of Evolution, in its development carrying man along to loftier reaches of emotional experience.

COMMUNITY	SOCIETY
<p>Its continuity is in the successive generations of families.</p>	<p>Its continuity lies in its own perennial growth manifested in successive civilizations.</p>
<p>It has a geographical boundary.</p>	<p>It has no boundary in space, in time, or personnel.</p>
<p>Its bond is the common experience that in union there is strength.</p>	<p>Its bond is the consciousness of kinship.</p>
<p>It enacts its own laws, and by force of arms, or of public opinion, it secures obedience thereto.</p>	<p>Its unwritten law man gradually discerns, being free to obey or disobey; the penalties of disobedience being beyond human control.</p>
<p>It develops a system of castes which ultimately merge.</p>	<p>It unfolds the principle of social equality.</p>
<p>Its policy changes with circumstances.</p>	<p>Its principle changes circumstances.</p>
<p>Its chief product is Industrial differentiation.</p>	<p>Its chief product is Christian unity.</p>
<p>That we are all members of a Community we are daily reminded by restrictions upon personal freedom and by restraint of instincts.</p>	<p>We become daily more conscious of this unseen Power by the discernment of a rule of conduct beyond that which pure reason would dictate.</p>
<p>We may leave a Community and renounce our citizenship.</p>	<p>We cannot get away from the operation of the social process; to its Sovereignty we are for life subject.</p>
<p>Its chief institution is the State, and public opinion is its chief interpreter.</p>	<p>Its chief Instrument is the Church, and woman is its chief interpreter, with supplementary poets and artists.</p>

COMMUNITY	SOCIETY
<p>Its end is co-operation, for a less toilsome work and a leisure which all may share.</p> <p>Its common welfare is the reflection of the average welfare of its members.</p> <p>Its power over the individual is felt by the pressure of the common needs, which can be satisfied only by the work of each for all, and of all for each.</p> <p>The mind of man is organizing the community.</p>	<p>Its end is the perfecting of human nature and the establishment of a nobler type of civilization.</p> <p>The evolution of society may be hastened or delayed by the action of the social institutions upon human nature. Its vitality is reflected in these institutions.</p> <p>Its influence is felt chiefly through Woman as the master-builder of Character, and through Art, which is the expression of a love of something above bread-and-butter comforts.</p> <p>Society is constructing the mind of man.</p>

In each, as in all matters human, Love is the principle, Order the basis, and Beauty the end.

XIII

THE SPIRIT OF SOCIALISM

The passion for the ideal is the passion for perfection, which is the passion for God.

—B. KIDD.

IN the preceding chapter we have pointed out the meaning of the terms "Society" and "Community," also the distinction between them. We may now venture some description of the Spirit of Socialism.

Socialism is an Ideal, and every Ideal is built upon a basis of principle deduced from the experience of life. The experience of life is the daily hammering into our consciousness of two cardinal facts, among others of less importance, and these two facts underlie the principle upon which the ideal of Socialism is built. The two facts are: 1. Tomorrow is the goal of to-day, as Summer is the goal of Spring; 2. Man is both Parent and Offspring of the Social life, as the egg is both the parent and offspring of the hen. There is only one ideal of conduct which can find support upon this pair of facts. It will be such as shall make the individual man, by his own effort, a contributor towards the welfare of this *social* life in the *future*. He must weave into its tapestry the thread of his personal life for the realization of its pattern. This pattern of Society is the goal of human effort.

In a personal conduct bathed in this Spirit of Socialism the inclusion and harmonization of two kinds of Liberty are involved: the utmost liberty of body, mind, and motion that is possible to the individual living in the present; the utmost freedom of action, upon the human mind, that is possible to the immortal bulk—society. These two liberties are in fact reciprocal. The individual finds his largest liberty in seeking an interest beyond his own in the present, while the Social process finds her amplest freedom in working through this ethical type of Freeman.

To keep the eye upon the goal means not only playing the game, but keeping the body fit and the spirit keen; to play for a win. The greatest social work which any one can do is the thorough doing of the day's work, provided one's occupation be honourable. In this world any self-improvement comes through an improved quality of work, and through an improved way of doing it. This self-improvement, through work, must precede all social improvements. To reverse the process is to make oneself a sterile idealist.

Hence the Spirit of Socialism imposes upon the man these three compulsions: 1. That he shall do good work before he eats good bread; 2. That he shall do his work without harm or hindrance to his neighbour; 3. That he shall support Institutions regulating social activities, and obey their regulations. Outside these compulsions he may enjoy as much liberty as he needs.

Finally, the Spirit of Socialism is known by its efficiency in making Love the principle, Order the basis, and Beauty the end of all human activity.

XIV

THE FIVE CARDINAL INSTITUTIONS

THE Community has wrought into its constitution certain Institutions for the better ordering of those functions which maintain its collective life. They are voluntary associations, those of capital importance being five in number and as here set out.

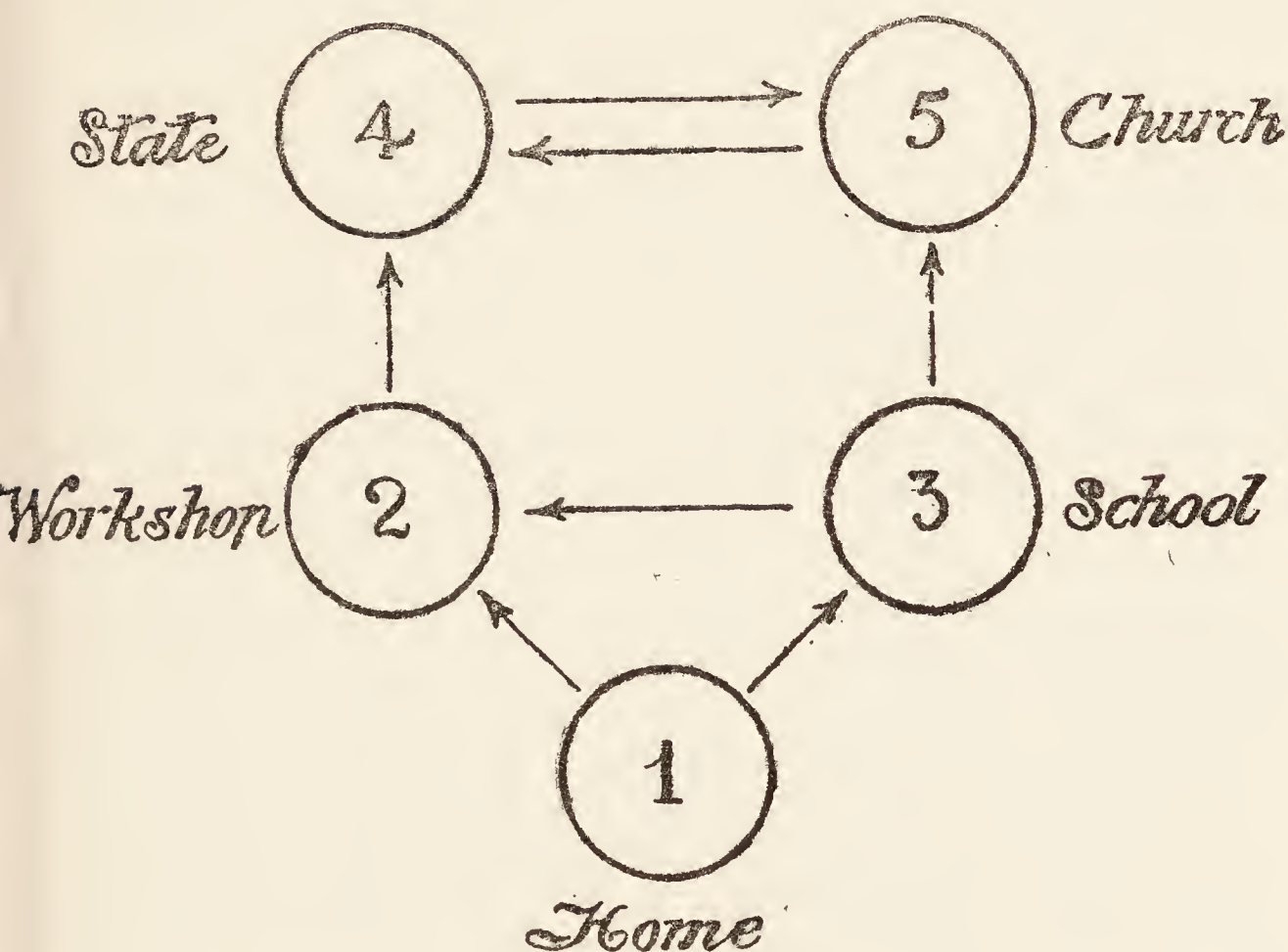
1. The basic Institution is the Homestead, including the family, with all persons assisting, or dependent upon, the parents resident therein. It will also include the freehold land which should be inalienable, together with its serviceable and companionable animals. This institution provides and houses the *personnel* of a community.

2. The Workshop as an institution stands for all those extractive, constructive, and distributive organizations which have been established to provide whatever may be required for our physical sustenance and equipment.

3. The School stands for all those organizations whose object is the training and development of the higher human faculties—a training started in the home.

4 and 5. Above these three institutions have been

developed the two Regulative institutions known as the Church and the State. The former includes all those organizations formed to promote the Humanities—factors of human Character, Conscience, and Ideals. The latter institution embraces those organizations formed to promote the Civilities—factors of Order, Security, and Equity. These Regulative institutions provide a common rallying-point for individuals having varied aspirations



and pursuing diverse occupations. In the common law of the one, in the common worship of the other, are emphasized our common interest and our common destiny.

Man attains a higher civilization in proportion as he makes a greater use of these institutional agencies, and sets a higher value upon them as instruments for co-ordinating his personal activities with those of his fellows. But their ministration to human life must ever be, to their officials, the beginning and the end of their ministry.

THE FIVE CARDINAL INSTITUTIONS.

Physical							Mental							Emotional																		
Body			Brain			Heart			Objective Order			Institution and Instrument			Function			Subjective Experience			Objective Issue			Social Value			Subjective Order					
5			Family and Homestead			Creation of Personnel			Character			Continuity			Provision			Mastery of Nature			Truth of Conceptions			Harmony of Interests			Supremacy of Ideals			5		
4			Workshop and Research			Production of Material			Ability			Provision			Liberty			Order			Beauty			Supremacy of Ideals			5					
3			School and Opportunity			Development of Faculties			Power			Prevision			Power			Prevision			Truth of Conceptions			Harmony of Interests			5					
2			Workshop and Research			Production of Material			Ability			Provision			Liberty			Order			Beauty			Supremacy of Ideals			5					
1			Family and Homestead			Creation of Personnel			Character			Continuity			Provision			Mastery of Nature			Truth of Conceptions			Harmony of Interests			5					

In Ascending order, Loyalties proceeding from the Subjective supremacy of the Family.

In Descending order, Loyalties proceeding from the Objective supremacy of Society.

Beauty, the fruit ;

Order, the condition ;

Love, the root.

In these five cardinal institutions are developed the five types of man:—1. Husbandman;¹ 2. Schoolman; 3. Craftsman; 4. Statesman; 5. Churchman.

The above table of these institutions, if read not too literally, may be of service. The order in which they are placed here is not the order of their evolution, but the order of their social importance.

XV

THE DOMAINS OF WORK

THE diverse activities of a community fall into three categories: 1. Those Sustaining life; 2. Those Distributing and apportioning the products of work; 3. Those Regulating the concourse of persons and the commerce of things.

The Sustaining system includes all activities engaged in the production of things which build up the body and maintain its health; also those things which develop the mind and recreate the emotions.

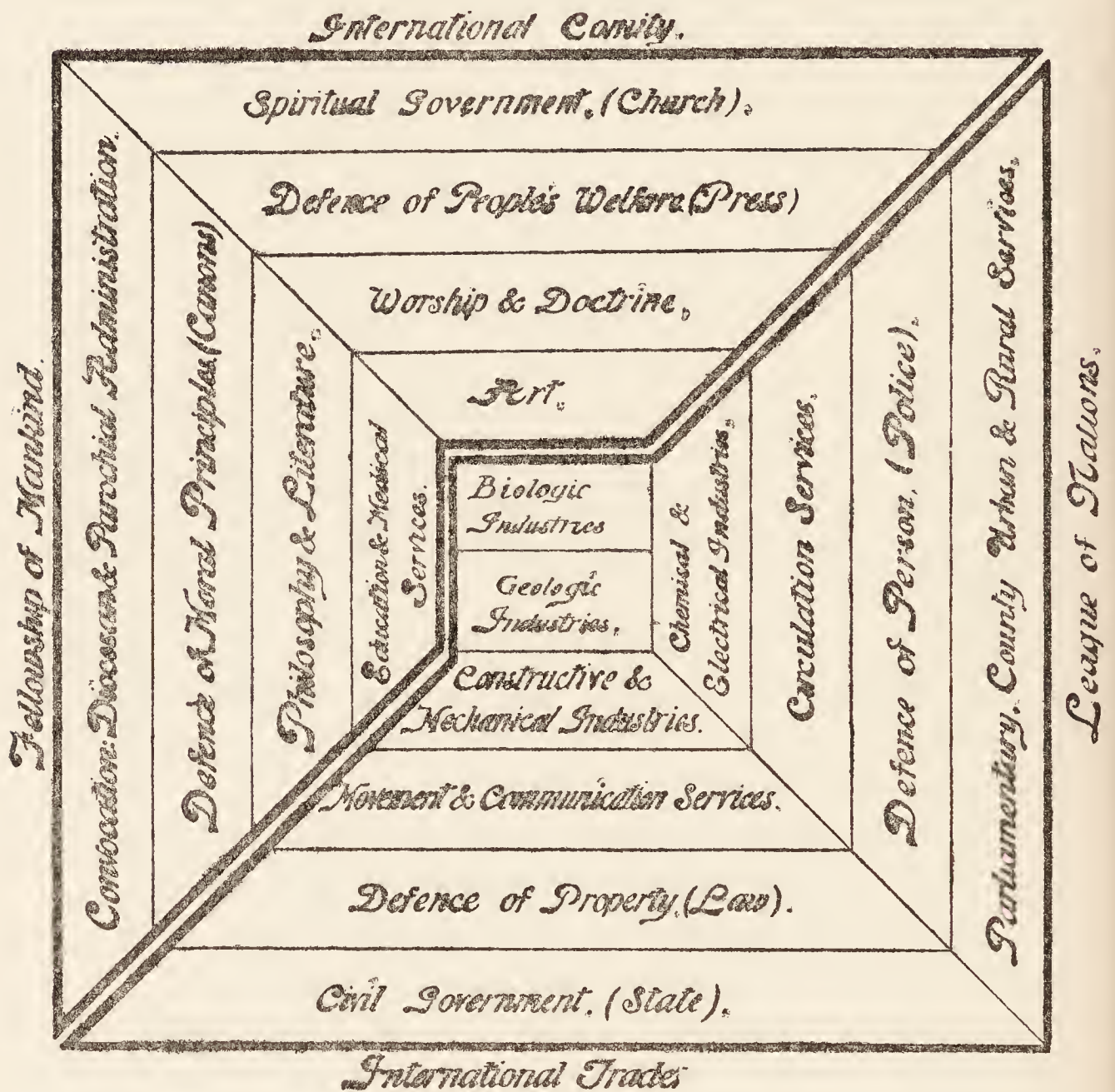
The Distributive system includes the conveying and apportioning of the above things among the people.

The Regulative system includes the services of medicine, law, religion, and political and civil government.

All these activities range themselves under the sovereignty either of the supreme spiritual power—the Church, or of the supreme secular power—the State. This somewhat arbitrary, but convenient, disposition of the activities is indicated in the diagram, which may be viewed as a map delineating the spheres of activity within a community. The kind of life which an individual can

¹ This means the "Houseman" who cultivates the Homestead. Chaucer uses the word as we use the word Husband.

enjoy will largely depend upon the efficiency of these activities, their balance and co-ordination. Regarded as a vital part of this mighty task, the little bit of work which each one does acquires a grandeur and an interest which should compel one to a thoroughness and inspire



a sincerity greater than that any personal satisfaction can generate. The imagination will see the small daily task linked up into a partnership with the travail of the universe towards an ever-increasing perfection, each work a link in the chain of eternal sequence. It is this unity of interest in the common work of each person which has fashioned the term "community."

Each kind of activity as mapped out has its own particular place among others by reason of its function. The nearer an organ lies to the centre of the corporate system the more intensive, local, and physically vital in its function shall we find it to be. The farther it lies from this centre the more extensive and spiritually vital will be its function. Thus those industries which provide the food, fuel, and metals for our physical life and equipment are central on the material side. Those services which minister to our health, intelligence, and æsthetic nature are central on the spiritual side.

Lying beyond the geographical boundaries of the nation are the activities concerned with the destinies of other peoples, whose welfare reacts upon our own. Our internal peace and happiness depend largely upon the reciprocity of goodwill and service between all civilized peoples. Hence, national boundaries no longer figure as boundaries of moral obligations. Duties transcend time and space. The heart-beat of the individual throbs with the pulse of mankind.

The equality of social status for the worker being the reflection of that equality of service which each kind of work renders to the common weal, one's claim to an equality of social status must rest upon the usefulness of one's work to others.

XVI

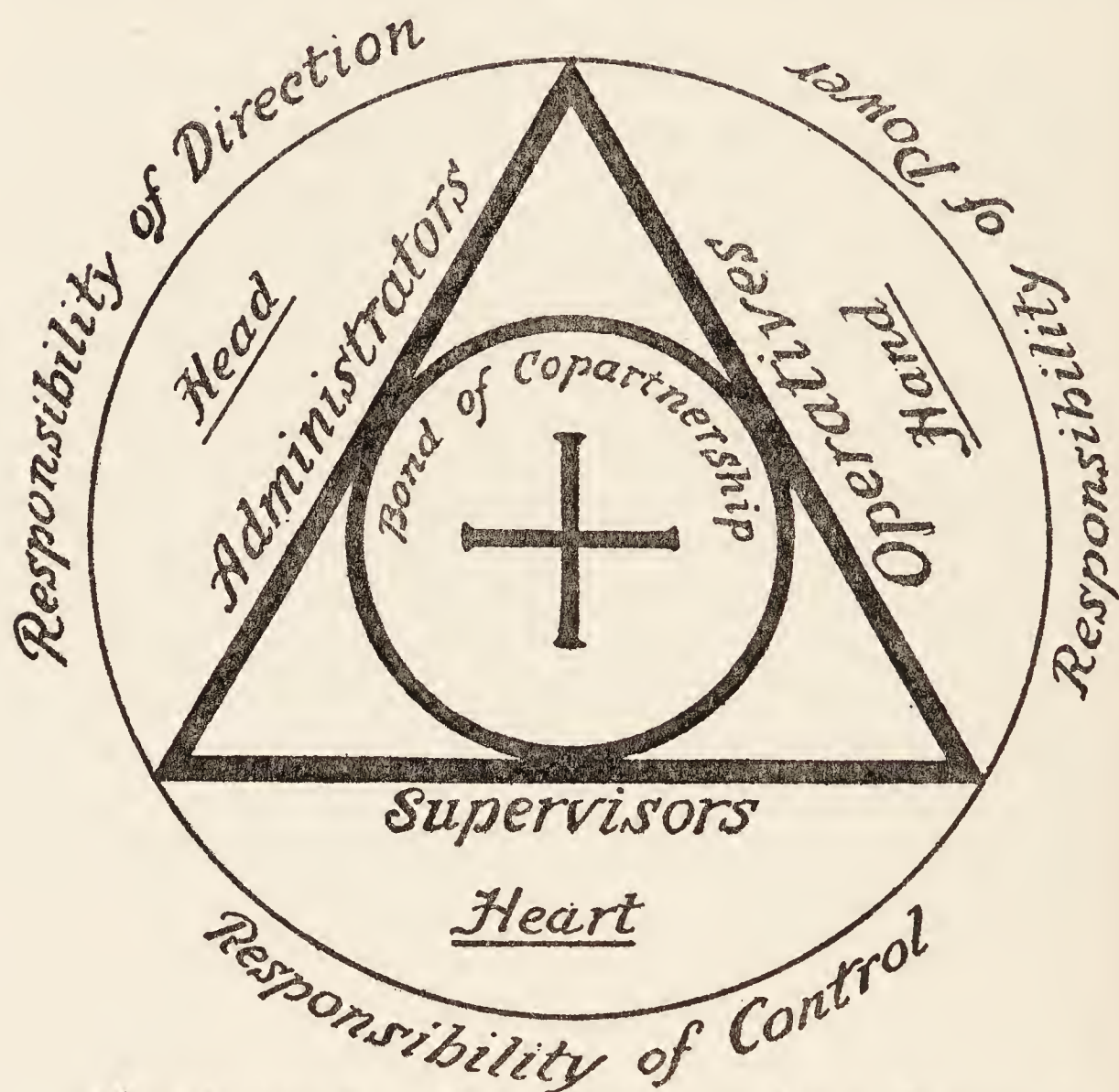
THE UNIT OF INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION

Progress depends upon perfect co-ordination of man's forces to produce unity of action. We cannot expect an industrial organization to progress without the establishment of a conscious co-ordinating mechanism similar to the nervous system in the human body.

—R. B. WOLF.

THAT which we mean by "progress" starts with the association of men for the happier and more efficient

performance of a common task. Such simple association very soon acquires an organic character by a natural sifting and segregating of the diverse aptitudes of men. Each kind of aptitude is an organ for a special function. These special functions become more strictly defined as



Authority: Sympathy: Obedience

industry develops, giving rise to distinct "orders" of worker within an association of workers; each order equally contributing to, and responsible for, the common output. The orders resulting from this segregation of aptitudes and experiences are classified under three heads: 1. Administrators; 2. Supervisors; 3. Operatives.¹ How-

¹ The names chosen designate the function and not the organ chiefly active, such as head, eyes, hands.

ever simple the industry in which a number of workers are associated, there will be these three organs, or "orders," functioning. In practice they will here and there merge and overlap, yet we should regard them as distinct one from another for the purpose of organization.

The Administrative order will set itself to the task of settling the nature and policy of the business; choosing and equipping the place of business; arranging for the fixed and fluid capital; finding markets for the output, and so on.

The Supervisory order will set itself to the task of settling the conditions under which the work in factory and counting house can best be done. Upon this order will fall the duty of seeing that any grievance arising in any department through this artificial division of work and control is either remedied or brought before the Guild to which the association is attached. This order will also grade the workers—mental and manual—into "Ranks" for the better performance of the varied work and for an equitable variation in the scales of maintenance-pay. Further, it will see to it that processes of work are not such as shall injure the health or depress the spirit of the worker.

The Operative order will undertake all the manipulative operations, and will consist of the artisans. Clearly the three orders are of equal importance in the common task. No one order should enjoy any special privilege, nor be free from responsibility for the result of the common task. Each order should also receive its maintenance-pay out of the common wealth upon the same terms, as explained in a later chapter.

In every organic group there must be a Head. To this Captain, or Commander, will be given, by the group and for the group, an Authority with power to enforce the same. The sanction of this, as of every authority, is based upon the need of securing an equal Right and allotting an equal Duty for each member of the

group; the freedom of each worker requiring this security.

These three orders, or organs of the industrial body, closely correspond with the three organs of the biologic body—Head, Heart, and Hands. As the heart is the sympathetic controlling power over the activities of the head and hands, so the supervisory organ is that which should sympathetically control both workshop and counting-house, preventing strains, slackness, and unfavourable conditions. This sympathetic prevision and supervision must necessarily be the duty of an organ not directly engaged with either the operative or the administrative work. The eye must be upon every one, the heart partial to no one. Only by a disinterested supervision can freedom be maintained—the freedom of those who direct the work no less than the freedom of those who do it. The influence of this order will depend upon the wise use of its controlling power.

A special duty of the Supervisory order will be the promotion of good fellowship between all members of the group, and the encouragement, where need be, of some personal sacrifice for the common good. In ensuring thoroughness of workmanship, usefulness of output, economy of material, ease of the worker, the community is protected from the worst evils arising out of high specialization.

With the Supervisors will be grouped the Scientists, whose task it is to oversee the processes of production with a view to their qualitative efficiency; the Supervisors attending to the quantitative efficiency.

Under the present economic system the power and the privilege of those who administrate a business are so abnormal, and generally distressing to the other workers, that there is a constant struggle among men to get out of the operative order into the administrative. When the social status of all builders of the common weal is the same, and when such power as is given to an order is

used for the common welfare, handiwork will be seen in its true light, and by both worker and public will be the more highly esteemed. Meanwhile a means of rising from what is *considered* a lower order to a higher must be a feature in every organization: each order a stepping-stone to another order, as rank is to rank in the army.

In the firm establishment of the Supervisory order, the operatives and the administrators will feel a satisfaction in having, within their own association, a sympathetic court of appeal capable of dealing impartially with grievances as they may arise. For the Supervisors the court of appeal would be the Council of the Guild to which the industry is affiliated. In a co-operative group there will be a healthy rivalry between its members, leading to a stouter rivalry between one group and another. This rivalry will tend to excellence, since, all exclusive interests being eliminated, these can no longer be objects of contention, and the light-hearted craftsman will emerge.

An association of working men ~~being~~ thus organized upon the family type in accordance with the unchangeable nature of man—that is, rightly and righteously, with no gains leaking out into private pockets, with all men by their work contributing to, and by their pay enjoying, the common output upon precisely the same terms—every man within the group from the top to the bottom will have the same natural incentive to do his best and cast out the slacker as disloyal to the group. The natural distinctions, among workers, incidental to diversity of abilities will the more enrich the life of communities when for each task a happy selection is made by men, trained for the purpose, in consultation with parents and schoolmasters. To some selective process every one should be submitted who chooses to work in close association with others. Since in each group all are maintained by the proceeds of its output, this selection is just.

In every industrial association the organization should

include a *consultative* board of representatives chosen from the three types of worker. For the efficiency of any one department is the concern of all, and much may be gained for this efficiency by drawing upon the varied experience of the several orders of worker.

In the diagram representing this Trinity in Unity the centre of the Industrial unit is occupied by the + as in the social unit. This + symbolizes the two central influences operating within a co-operative group, making in one direction for Authority and Obedience, in the other direction for Comradeship and Differentiation. The triangle—the simplest and most stable form—stands for the stable trinity of orders co-operating within the group on equal terms, and with equal, though diverse, powers. The two circles, one within the triangle and one without, symbolize the bonds of unity through a similarity of interest and an equality of service within and without the group.

Each organ functioning within the association has its accepted Responsibility; each has its entrusted Power. These, when not kept in balance and given equal recognition, cause sectional trouble always, and sometimes bankruptcy of the association with local paralysis of the community.

The duties of each specialized organ we have already touched upon. From time to time these will be more particularly defined by the industrial council within the group. That the reader may clearly distinguish the particular sphere of work appropriate to each function we briefly summarize them thus :—

The Administrative organ will direct the commercial policy, the selection of industrial output, the supply of raw material and technical equipment, and with special advice select the personnel. It will provide for the marketing of the output and superintend the finance, accountancy, and correspondence. It will act as steward of all receipts, distributing these in a manner sanctioned

by the Guild for the economic maintenance of every member of the association and for the upkeep of the material equipment.

The Supervisory organ will be chiefly responsible for the conditions under which the work is done and for the efficiency of the machines, tools, and technical processes. The keeping of time-sheets and stores, the maintenance of order and discipline in all departments, the supply of apprentices and the provision for their training, the provision of intervals for rest and recreation, will be among the duties of this order. The Supervisors will watch the psychological effect upon the workers of methods and conditions of work, so that specialization be not carried to a point where the interest of the operative is lost, or where personal initiative is impossible through stress of mechanical processes. This order will be the channel through which disputes that cannot be dealt with by the Consultative board within the group will be referred to the Council of the Guild. The branch of Scientists will carry on research work, test results, and improve processes; the prevention of waste—human and material—with improvement of quality in the output, being their objective.

The Operative order must be ultimately responsible for the quality of workmanship, and the quantity of output consistent with the dominant claims of their manhood. Incessant Loyalty to each other worker and to the whole group, with Emulation to excel in one's own line of work, should specially distinguish an order in which the number of workers will be large and the nature of its work more responsive to the hand that does it.

Every institution in its growth approximates the basic institution of the family. The recent introduction of a department to deal with the "welfare" of the workers; of scientists to pursue research; the efforts towards harmonization of interests—these are signs of this approximation.

Every advance in occupational organization will be towards a more complete and free co-operation between all its elements—a co-operation in which all rights will be protected, all duties done, and the highest efficiency of man and material achieved.

In a co-operative association the whole capital equipment must necessarily be under the control of the group through its representative council. When any person puts into a co-operative association money, muscle, or brain this becomes subject to the rule of the organization which makes it of use to the owner. For this social means of turning it to a larger service some small right of control is surrendered by the individual.

Lastly, the organization of industry has for its fruit the richest life for the individual upon the easiest terms; and to bring forth this fruit its roots must draw their strength from Fellowship—a fellowship which will eliminate mastership, as generally understood in financially controlled organizations. Thus, in the industrial association we see the nucleus of the co-operate commonwealth of the future.

XVII

THE OCCUPATION-GUILD

OUT of the association of man with man in a co-operative alliance arise the several industrial groups, the internal organization of which was the subject of the last chapter. The groups engaged upon one kind of industry, or service, will be many, and they will be located all over the kingdom. These groups will give rise to some central representative Body which will naturally become an Industrial Parliament. This Body, presiding over a particular kind of

occupation, we name the "Occupation-Guild." The building, farming, clothing, and smelting industries will each have its Guild. This federation of groups engaged in a similar occupation will complete the process of integration. Such a capital body will have an important office to fill. In the numerous industrial, commercial, and professional groups problems will arise requiring a special knowledge for their solution. Such special knowledge a central body may acquire. For the settlement of disputes arising within an association, a central and disinterested Court of Appeal is required, whose decisions shall be accepted as final and binding upon members of every rank and order. Such a Court may be found in the Council of a Guild, upon which will sit representatives elected by each Order and Rank of worker within the occupation.

In the formation of the "National Alliance of Employers and Employed"; in the "Federation of British Industries"; in the attempts to form an "order" of Managers and Welfare Workers, we see crude endeavours towards a more human type of organization.

We may anticipate the structure and function of this future industrial parliament, or guild, which had its prototypes in the Merchant, Craft, and Professional Guilds of the Middle Ages.

A Guild will be composed of the sum-total of workers who, in various localities, are engaged in some one kind of occupation, such as building, agriculture, transport, distribution, art, law, science, etc. All Guildsmen will be enrolled upon the register of the Guild as members of the Order to which they belong. The Constitution of the Guild will be formed by its body of members and by an Executive Council. Upon its Council there will be an equal representation of each order of worker; and so that the particular industry represented by the Guild may be related to the public served by it, the President of the Council should be some official nominated by the State. Such President, representing the public welfare, would

regard the special occupation from the collective standpoint. His office would be to harmonize the public interest with the particular interests of the industrial group. This feature would stamp every type of voluntary work with its true character of a national service.

The purpose of the Guild will be (a) the unification into a single economic organ of the several local units carrying on some one kind of service ; and (b) the general governance of this organ. It will stand sponsor for each working man, for each order of worker, for each local group, and for the occupation as a whole. Further, through its President it will stand sponsor for the Community in all matters whereby the public is affected by the policy, processes, or output of the industry. Such a Body would be more zealous of the good opinion of the public, and more amenable to it, than the individual group.

Each Guild will have its Bank, in which will be funded the money periodically paid to the Guild by each guildsman for insurances, pensions, etc. These banks will employ this money in the various ways of finance. Each Guild will also have its Labour Exchange, through whose agency workers may be temporarily moved from one branch group to another, or from one industry to another, when circumstances make this necessary and practicable.

The Guilds may be classified under six heads, embracing :—

1. The Extractive industries ; the animal, vegetable, and mineral supplies.

2. The Constructive industries ; building, clothing, furnishing, etc.

3. The Movement services ; transport by rail, road, water, and air.

4. Elemental supply ; electricity, light, heat, and water.

5. The Professional services ; educational, medical, scientific, legal, artistic, and spiritual.

6. Those incorporating Civil servants and officials, regional, national, and imperial.

The chief duties of the Guilds we may summarize thus :—

To maintain the dominance of human values over the economic in all relationships and processes.

To encourage individual initiative and emulation to excel by grading the workers of each Order into Ranks, and by the granting of honours.

To act as an Intelligence Department for gathering and disseminating information useful to the pursuit.

To facilitate standardization of material and construction where advantageous.

To grant licences where necessary to traders, manufacturers, distributors, and professionals.

To withstand any attempt by an external Authority to interfere with the management or the free working of an occupational association.

To settle from time to time, according to the general price-level, the increases or decreases in the periodic pay of those engaged within the occupations embraced by the guild, having regard always to local and other variations.

To settle the amount of Profit due to the different orders of workers as their share of the Biologic profit.

To settle, during the period of transition from the unorganized competitive to the organized co-operative system, the share of commercial *gain* which each order of worker should receive out of the gains derived from sales, in accordance with the "profit-sharing" system.

To be responsible for the public audit of accounts as Trustee for Consumers and Producers.

To arrange for the maintenance of the unemployed, and their preparation for and transference to other occupations where possible and desirable.

To act as Referee in all disputes.

To hold and disburse the funds destined for insurance, pensions, expansion, etc., and fix the pension allowances.

To adjust the family-maintenance-pay where the

recipients have less or more than the average domestic dependants.

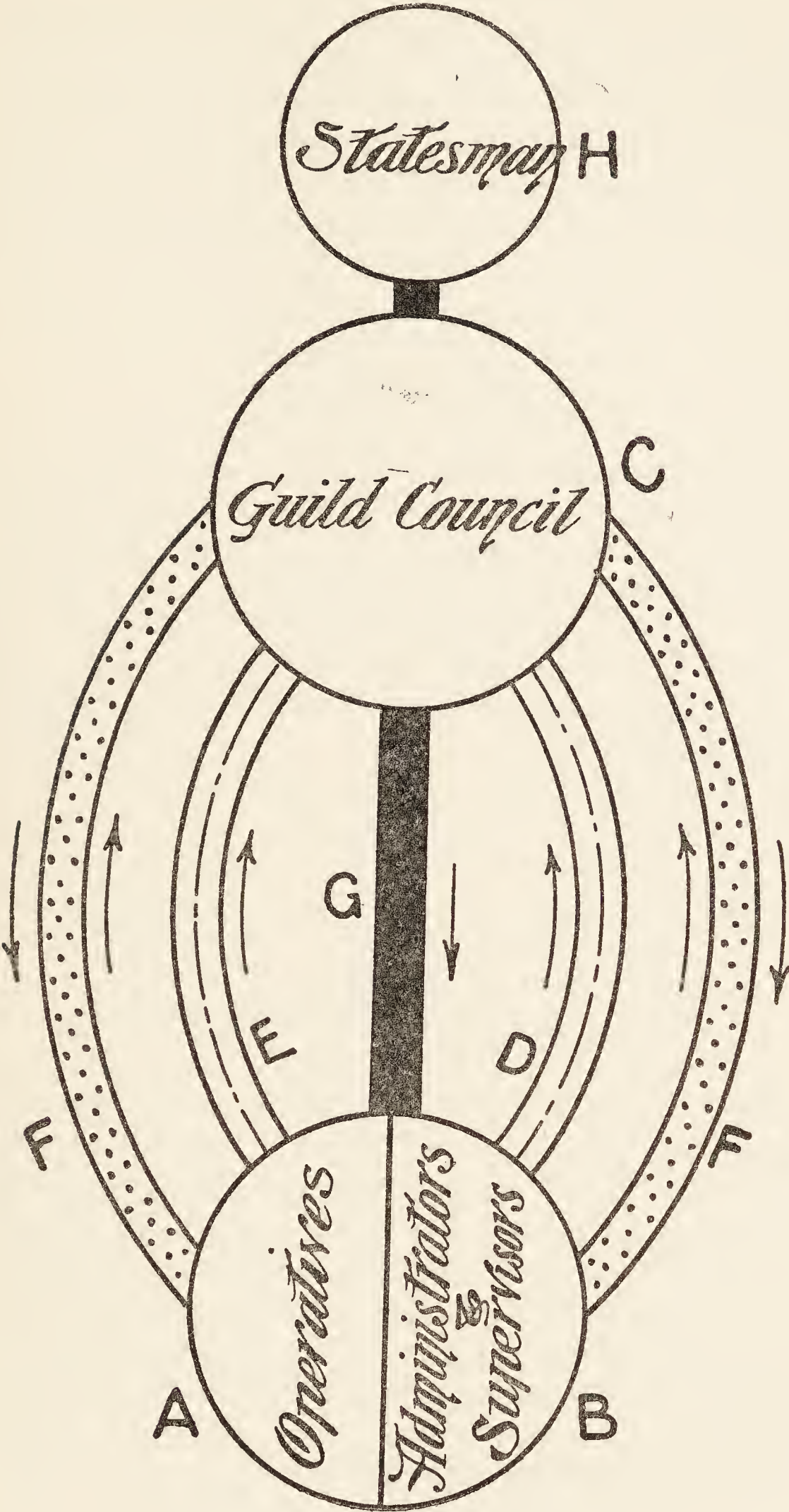
To make the annual return to the State Authority of those guildsmen who are eligible for the defensive services, and to recommend exemptions from such services where such exemptions would be in the public interest.

To recommend for Public Honours such guildsmen as shall have merited distinction.

To send delegates to the Annual Congress of Guilds.

Such are the tasks which perpetually recur in every sphere; and these can be properly performed only by an institution whose disinterested authority is recognized by an industry in particular, and by the community in general. In the past the foundation and function of the Guilds were religious—they were Brotherhoods. The Guilds of the future, owing to the nature of their function, will be religious in the true sense of this word. The sanction of their authority will always rest upon the fact that their ultimate objective lies in the welfare of the community in the immediate future. For the Guilds, in their most practical work, the watchword will be “To-morrow,” and not “To-day.” Only from this lofty vantage ground can a Guild compel the individual to a restraint of *gain* from specialized industry or from native gifts.

In the diagram the three Orders of worker are indicated by A and B, the Supervisors being grouped with the Administrators for the sake of simplicity. E and D denote the representatives elected by these Orders for service upon the Council of the Guild. F indicates the money periodically paid by each member to his Guild, also the money paid by the Guild to its members when demanded or due. G represents the various benefits, such as control, credit, special information, etc., which the Guild confers upon the guildsmen. H indicates the State official representing the Public, for whom all work is done, and by whom all workers are, in fact, paid their share of the common output.



The Guild will render unnecessary such sectional and militant organizations as trade unions and federations of employers. Its establishment will be the prelude to the industrial enfranchisement of the manual workers. Every worker will have behind him a Body whose assistance he can command in any matter relating to his work, pay, or pension. Upon its introduction, the control of industry will gradually pass from the power of a caste to the function of a type—the capable man rising as naturally as does the sweetest air.

Thus, the conducting Guild, as the Conductor of an orchestra, will incorporate and blend in a harmony every instrument whose value to industrial efficiency time and experience have tested; also every capacity whose gift of human interest has made work worthy of increasing effort. Only under an organization which gathers into a harmony of purpose the discordances of human wills can any man peaceably do his best work and freely live his fullest life.

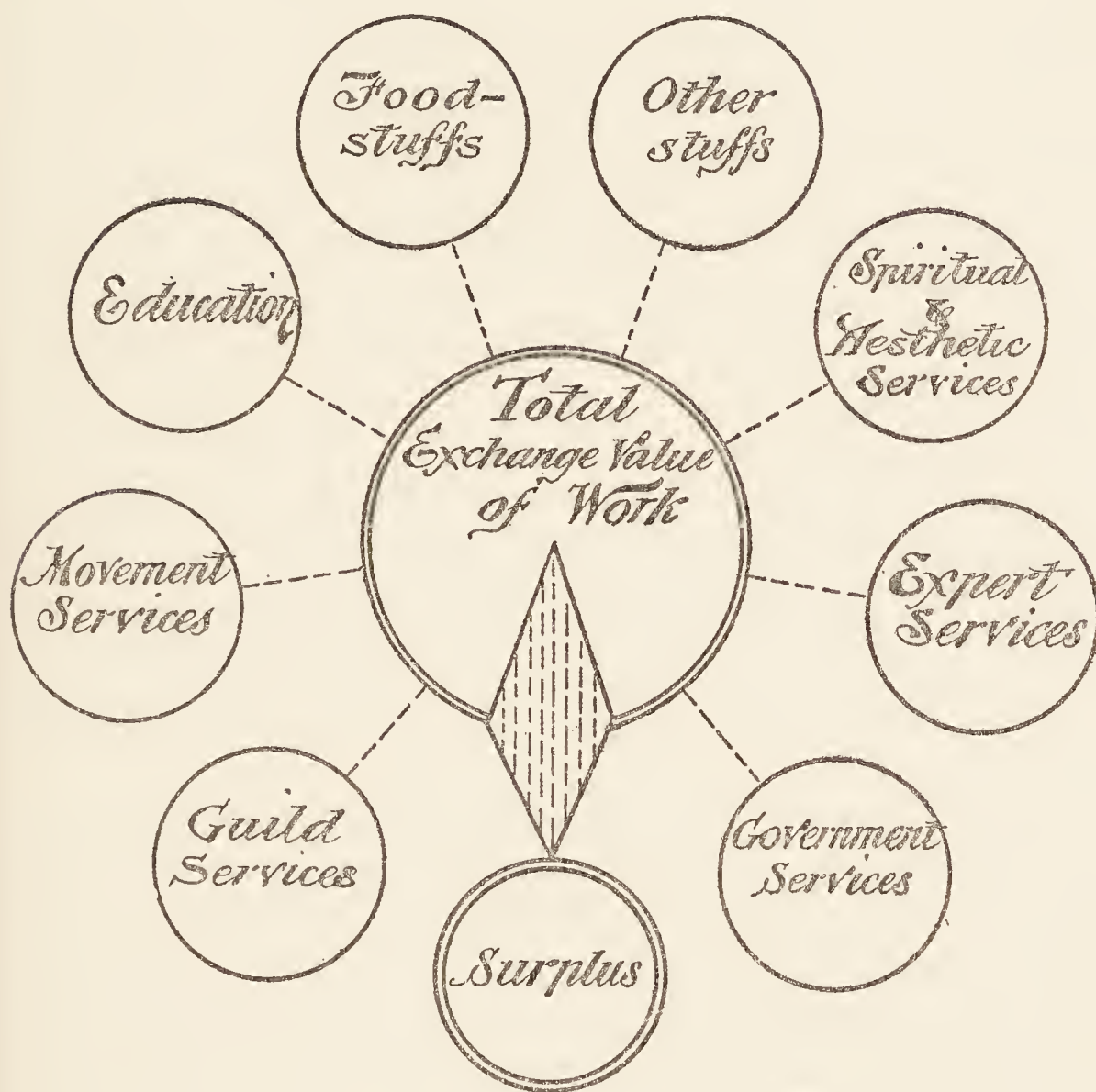
XVIII

THE ELEMENTS OF MAINTENANCE

IN this work the terms “maintenance” and “maintenance-pay” are so frequently used that it becomes necessary to state what are the elements of this maintenance. The national output is of two distinct kinds—the one kind ministering to man’s physical life and comfort, the other kind ministering to man’s spiritual life and culture. Civilization depends almost wholly upon the character of this latter kind of output, and the extent to which it enters every citizen’s life as an element of its maintenance. Man lives by bread, but not by bread alone; conse-

quently the elements of maintenance must include a full measure of the two kinds of human output. We may group these under four heads: 1. Sustenance; 2. Equipment; 3. Amenities; 4. Profit or Surplus.

Sustenance will include all those things which maintain the body in health, such as food, clothing, housing, etc.



Equipment will include all those things which equip our hands and heads for the stress, work, and enjoyment of life, such as raw material, facilities of intercourse, education, tools, furniture, stock-in-trade, etc. Under this head are included all payments to the occupation-guild, the local and central government, both civil and spiritual.

Amenities will include those special gifts of civilization

which minister to the higher faculties and to the refreshment of the senses, such as æsthetic recreation, sports, and amusement. The training, exercise, and lift of the emotional life are a result of this æsthetic recreation, which, therefore, is the most important of all the elements of our daily maintenance. The wholesome provision of the other elements frees man, and fits him for a more generous measure of this æsthetic, or spiritual, recreation.

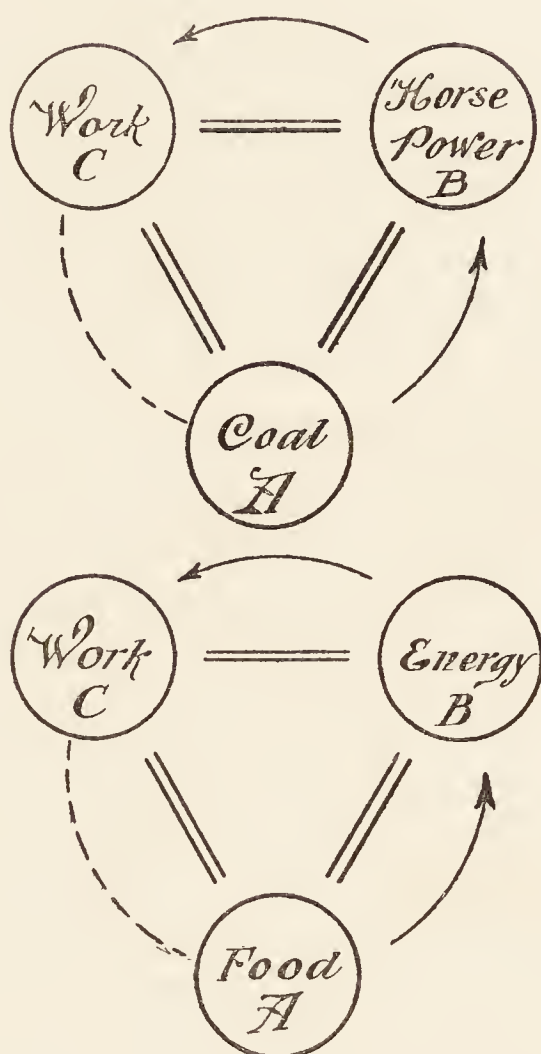
Profit or surplus is that share of the national biologic product which is due to each family, and derived from the feeding industries, as explained in the chapters following.

In a civilized community the elements of maintenance will be in *kind* the same for every member, since each has a body to be nourished, a mind to be developed, and an æsthetic sense to be satisfied. The *amount* of these elements which each can make use of will vary, the variation being due in part to the nature and nurture of the individual, in part to the diversity of equipment needed for this and that occupation. Experience has proved that the most satisfactory adjustment of these variations is by a scale based upon occupational needs and functional efficiency.

In the diagram are mapped out all the various elements of maintenance without regard to quantity. The small external circles indicate those elements, all of which enter into the daily maintenance of each family. These good things each worker procures with the money received by him in exchange for his work. His share of the biologic profit or surplus is a thing apart, and not related to the work done by the recipient. As explained later, it is his share of Nature's bounty, and should be distributed among all the active adults on the same terms.

We to-day recognize our obligation to maintain any and every member of the community out of the common fund, the State being empowered to make this obligation effective.

XIX

FOODSTUFF: THE SOURCE OF ENERGY
AND WEALTH

THE basic activity upon whose product all other activities are rendered possible is that of Food-production. Food-stuffs not only sustain and augment the body; they are the raw materials of all our Energies and Faculties. We eat not only that we may live and grow, but that we may work and exercise our faculties.

The cycle of life, in its economic aspect, is similar to the cycle of a power-machine. In each case fuel, or food, is consumed, energy is generated, and this energy is then transformed into some kind of work done. Food alone gives to men that motive power which, directed by intel-

ligence and qualified by sentiment, results in some work being done. Consequently, all that a man does in his busy and varied life has to be regarded, from the economic standpoint, simply as a *food-product* and nothing more. The food is the sole human product, or reality, which is *expended*. Upon its consumption it disappears, and in its place appears a something done or expressed. This doing, or this expressing, constitutes man's service to his fellow men, who, in return for this service, renew the food supply. The food consumed must be replaced in order that we may carry on; and its replacement, after work done, again starts the ever-recurring cycle of Food, Energy, Work.

Food, then, is the source not only of all energy, but of all Wealth that comes under economic consideration. Its consumption constitutes the sole expenditure which we can rightly take into account in our claims one upon another for services rendered or to be rendered. It is the sole real-cost of any work, whatever be the nature of the work—digging, healing, or governing. This, then, is the meaning of the term “real-cost” when used in this work.

This fact is fundamental, because it underlies and determines every other economic fact with which we have to deal in our business transactions.

From the point of view of the Community, we may put it thus: the sum-total of the work done within a community in a given period is the economic equivalent of the sum-total of the *vital foodstuffs* which have been consumed by the whole community within this given period. This is the same kind of truth as that twice two are four.

We may mentally divide up the community into its respective functional groups, or into its several families, and we shall still have, in group or in family, the same economic “equivalent” between “food-intake” and “work-output.”

Let us regard this elemental fact of economics in

another aspect. The sole charge which is made upon a community by its several members, or by one member upon another, is for expenditure of effort, and for this alone. Human effort can be measured in no other way than in terms of its motive-power—food. We may exemplify it thus. Let us suppose the sole vital food to consist of the staple foodstuff, wheat. Suppose also that 1,000 workers (and their families, for we cannot split the economic unit) consume, within a given period, 1,000 quarters of wheat; then, whatever be the nature of the work done by the 1,000 workers within that period, its economic value, or real cost, will be the equivalent of 1,000 quarters of wheat. In other words, the effort expended and paid for (*a*) in the marketable work done, and (*b*) in the raising from the land 1,000 quarters of wheat will be *commercially* of equal value. If, after the consumption of the 1,000 quarters of wheat and the subsequent work done, the farmer raise a surplus of another 1,000 quarters for sale, the same body of workers can again, upon the consumption of this wheat, turn out work of precisely the same quantity and quality as before. The cycle is repeated.

Seeing that the sole cost of any work done—good or bad—is the “labour cost” of the food consumed by the worker and his family, it becomes a matter of great national importance what a people turns out upon its food-ration. We may have great bulk in an output of little worth, or we may have a smaller bulk of higher worth. If a man turns out what is worthless, its cost to the nation is the same as it would be had he produced something of true worth. A play of Shakespeare cost the nation no more than a peck of potatoes, if that. Whether a man produce something worth having or worth nothing lies within the choice of each one of us. The more we do of sound work, and the better we do it, the greater will be the benefit to the lot of us. If some one feed us, let that some one—the community—be the richer.

In consequence of the fact that food is the sole source of energy and the prime source of wealth, it should be the first consideration of a nation's polity that the community be self-supporting in the matter of vital foodstuffs. Further, because it is the source of all human products, and is itself chiefly a product of nature, the production of foodstuff stands in a category by itself, and is subject to regulations which are not needed in other spheres of production.

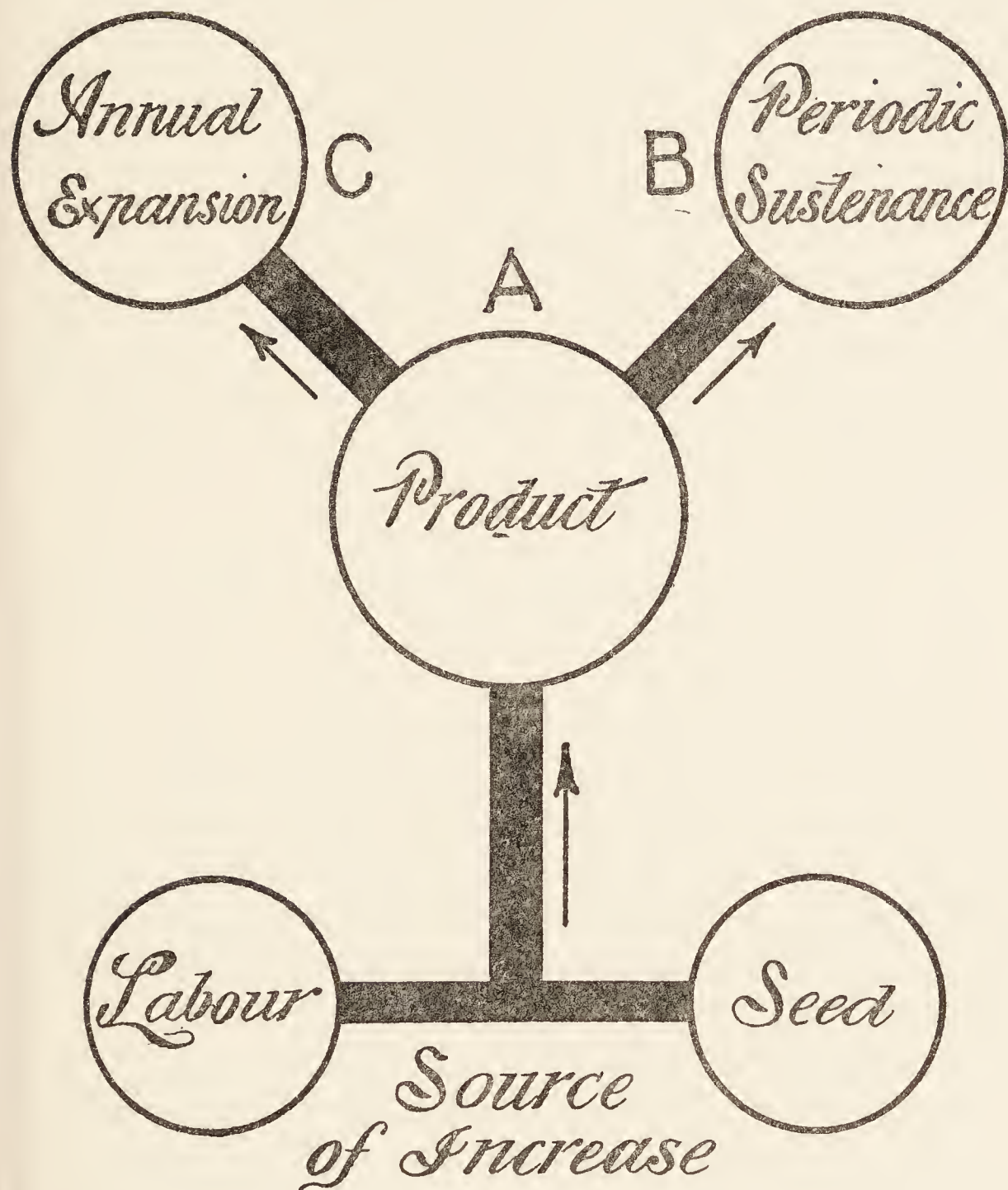
The meaning of this fact, so fundamental and all-embracing, is, we repeat, that the *commercial value* of anything made or done is determined and measured by the amount of vital foodstuffs consumed in the period during which the thing is made or done. This cosmic fact is the basis of all economic law. And to this law our distributive system must be brought into harmony.

XX

THE SOURCE OF PROFIT OR INCREASE

MAN'S advance in civilization is through his mastery, first over his own nature, and secondly over external nature. This latter mastery is first fought for in the field and upon the waters—the elements from which man chiefly draws his food. He brings under his control and to his aid the animal and vegetable life, also the forces active in the soil, weather, and waters. Finding Nature revelling in fecundity, he seeks to avail himself of this to an ever-increasing degree by wedding his skill to her generative power. This increasing mastery, manifested in the cultivation of the soil and in the breeding of domesticated animals, secures an increasing abundance. He is here continually creating a "surplus" which

releases some men from the soil for the supply of other and nobler needs. In no other sphere of work can man bring into being an increase. In no other industry but that of food production is there more stuff extant when



his work is finished than there was at its start. This increase is Nature's gift lavishly bestowed wherever man directs his effort with intelligence and in sympathy with her methods. In other industries there is no increase. There is no more stuff extant in the world at the finish of a car than was extant at its start; certainly somewhat

less. All manufactures result in the conversion of a less useful into a more useful thing.

This increase resulting from man's effort when wedded to nature's fecundity is a true "profit." The production of this profit is the first necessity of civilization, for until some harvest produces more than its predecessor produced there can be no relaxation of work, no release of hands from the plough for the workshop, no release of the mind from the field for the school or senate. In the commercial world the term "profit" is wrongly used. When A obtains from B something of more worth than that he has given to B in exchange, this extra something is not a profit, it is a "gain." Profit means a vital and marketable "addition" to the existing sum of useful stuff which profiteth every one in some way, either directly or indirectly.

The industries in which this increase arises are vital to man's life; they are therefore called the Biologic industries, and the profit arising from them is termed the "Biologic profit," or "increase."

As this Biologic profit is the only source of commercial wealth, it will be evident that a community cannot permit it to become the property of those whose labour and skill bring it forth. Such portion of it as is necessary for their maintenance is retained by the producers, the remainder being distributed among the other members of the community.

In this basic industry we are brought up against a condition from which is derived the first principle of political economy—namely, that whatever a man does becomes the property of the community which maintains him, and maintains him in order that he may again and again contribute this to its common wealth.

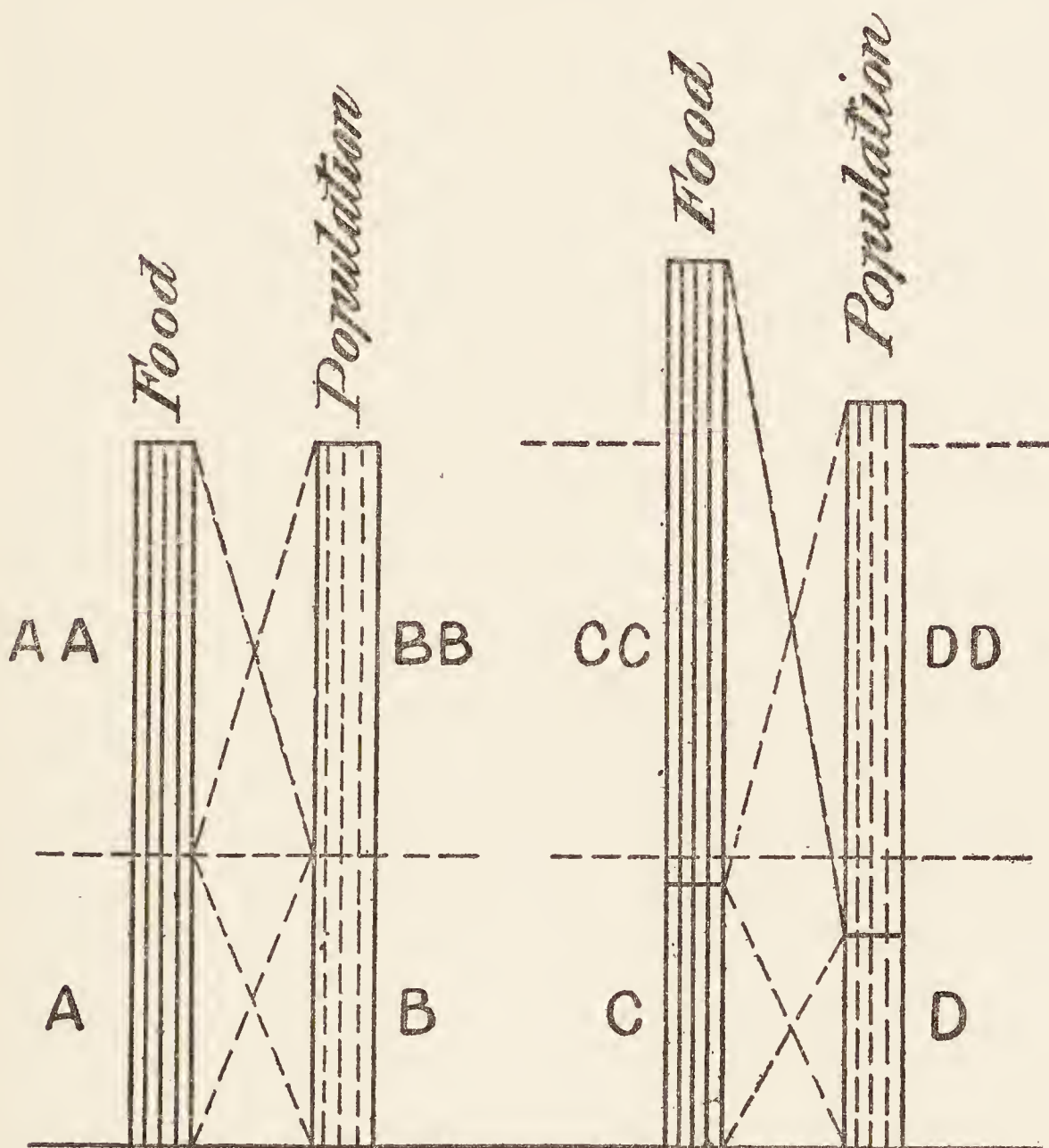
The distribution of this "profit" derived from the land is, moreover, a perpetual manifestation of man's tacit acceptance of the doctrine that the land is the people's land, the folk-land, or father-land, Brown and Smith

having no more than the "usage" of it upon such terms as the community may impose. Any departure from this makes slaves of a proletarian population.

The diagram on p. 81 explains itself.

XXI

FOOD AND POPULATION



THIS diagram exemplifies the gradual increase in the yield of foodstuffs through improved culture. Taking

the staple foodstuff, wheat, as the type, the two left-hand columns will represent the last year's harvest and import; also the last year's population fed by this harvest and import. The wheat (A) below the dotted line represents that portion of the harvest which in part is used for seed, and in part is consumed by the agricultural population (B). The portion (A A) represents the wheat available for the rest of the population (B B). This amount (A A), taken in relation to the population (B B), fixes the national standard of living in respect of life's physical needs. The two columns on the right exemplify an increase of wheat-yield, also an increase of population. So long as the increased wheat-yield from the home harvest is greater in proportion to the increase of the home population, the food-increase will be used, in part, to reduce the number necessarily engaged in wheat production, and, in part, for feeding the increase of the population: a part also may be used, if required, in providing, per head, an ampler food ration. D indicates this reduction of food producers, while C indicates the relatively smaller proportion of the entire new wheat-yield which they consume. Above the dotted line we see the largely increased remainder of the growing population (D D). This extra height of the wheat column, in relation to the height of the population column, indicates that an increase of food is now available. This is the Biologic "increase" explained in the last chapter.

When the home production cannot be farther increased though the mouths increase, then there must be an increase of imported foodstuffs. To the production-cost of the imported foodstuffs must be added the labour-cost of transport. The total cost of this imported food has to be paid for, in its entirety, by the home labour in mines and factories. The increase of this kind of labour not conducing to the general welfare, the increase of the population should be controlled within the limits of the home food supply. This is God's law of proportion, which must be observed by men no less than by animals at their

peril. There is a point beyond which any physical increase involves a spiritual decrease. England under the artificial stimulus of mass-production by the power machine has overstepped this point. To get back to a wholesome equilibrium, a severe control of births is necessary. Here, as in all other branches of human activity, there should be that virtue of intelligent control which is man's prerogative. The prevention of birth for those who, if born, would probably be unfit is a matter not of food supply; it rests on other and larger issues.

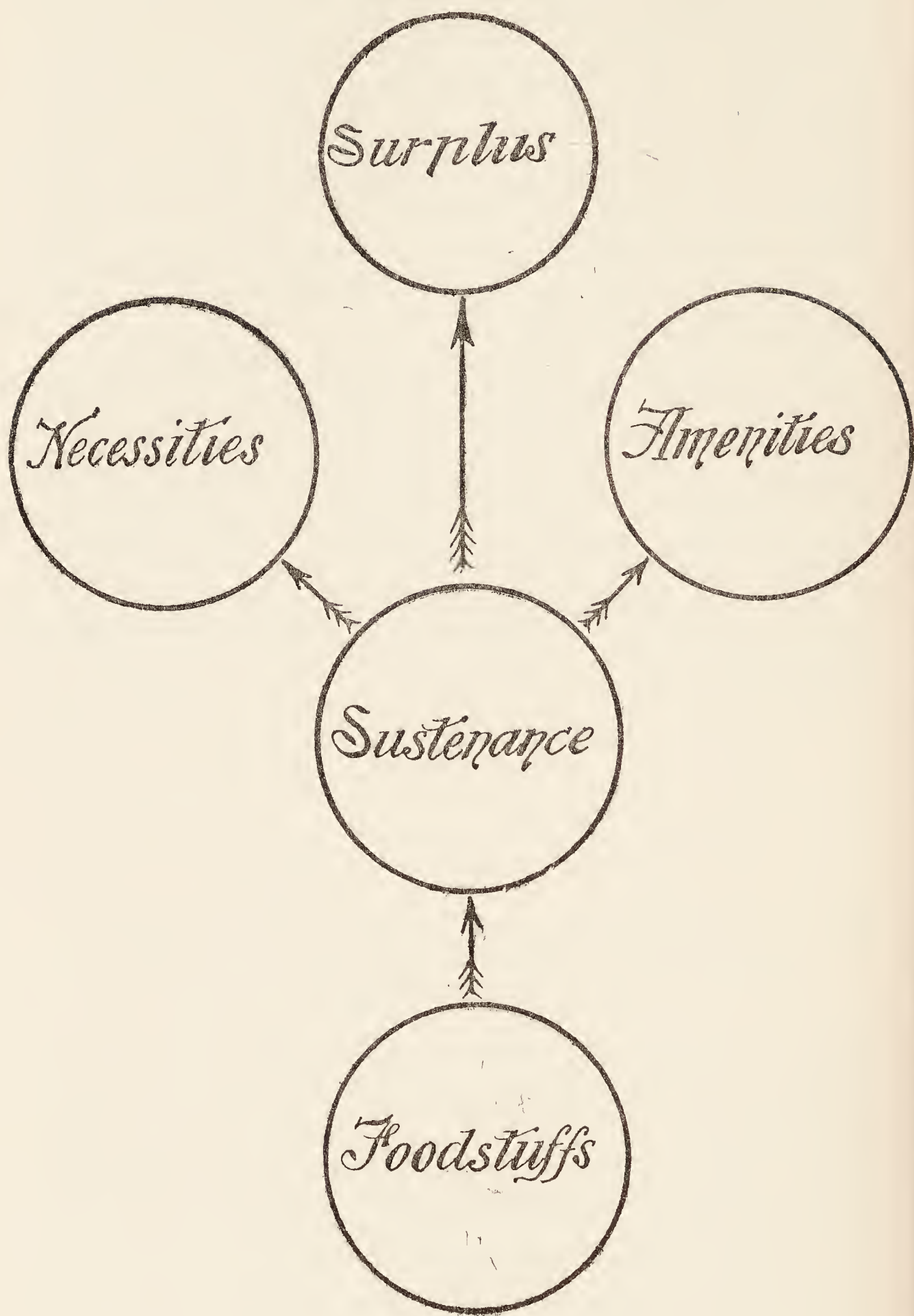
We are growing conscious of principles which Nature has ordained as the basis of a progressive life, and this new consciousness is modifying our views on many matters, and to our physical and spiritual betterment. For example, this new consciousness is now asking the question whether it would not be far better to send a man into the fields to grow more corn than to send him down a mine to hew coal as payment for corn grown in Argentina.

XXII

FOODSTUFFS: THE ORDER OF THEIR DESTINATION

NEXT to our social environment, the chief factor of civilization results from the use we make of our food-built energies. For a factor so important as that of food there should be some public control over its distribution and destination. With its proper distribution we deal in another chapter. Here we consider the order of its destination as increasing supplies come to hand. This order of destination should rule the distribution of food.

With every advance in skilful and less wasteful cultiva-



tion of the land an increase of food comes into being. In a self-supporting community this increase will release a certain number from the work of food production. The reduction in this field of work should increase the number of those who may devote themselves to the domestic, civil, and cultural equipment of the community. As the population may safely increase, a portion of this larger food supply will be destined to feed the extra mouths. In the diagram the food is shown in its progressive destination: first, to physical sustenance; next, to the necessities of equipment and cultural amenities; any surplus remaining over being available either for extra mouths or for more extensive amenities. This should be the order of its destination; but that this order may be followed throughout the state, the distribution of our food supplies must be controlled in some intelligent manner, or the many to whom the few owe their physical life will never taste of its amenities.

XXIII

PAY: ITS MEANING AND MORAL BASIS

WHEN a man by his own effort provides his own needs he is under no obligation to others. He neither takes nor makes a payment. He is a Robinson Crusoe. As soon as he co-operates with his fellows and they co-operate with him, the situation changes. When A does one bit of work, B another bit, and C a third bit, each one will have a claim upon the product of the work done by the other two; in fact, A, B, and C will together share the joint output. When, however, many men co-operate and together share the joint output, which is of manifold variety, then we depart from an equality of division in kind, or one would be landed with a violin he could not

use, another not having the spade he needed. The diverse output of a community cannot be portioned out in equal shares as we portion oats and hay to cattle. Each man doing a special work has special needs. In a complex and highly specialized community not only will there be an ever-increasing dependence of each upon the others, but the need of each will vary with his occupation. Consequently, the total output of a co-operative group must hypothetically go into hotch-pot, and from this hotch-pot must each receive in kind and in quantity what he needs in order to carry on. There is no practicable alternative to this. From the dawn of civilization this has been the principle underlying economic distribution; we have now to extend and complete this orderly method so as to cover the distribution of every kind of wealth—the intellectual and spiritual. Through all the growing complexity of social life down to that of our own day, the crafts, professions, and traditional trades have made this principle to take effect through regulations imposed by the societies dealing with these services. Experience has fixed for each worker his “maintenance portion,” pay, or livelihood, and to this ethical apportionment have all other claimants to the common wealth—the public—given tacit consent. Along with a consciousness of the rectitude of allotting to each according to his functional need has grown up a consciousness of the rectitude which compels each to do according to his functional ability. In this reciprocity the individual and society march together in right ways. Wherever there has been an attempt to take short cuts to wealth by disregard of this right way, to fill one’s bag by hard bargaining, or unjust dealing, contention and chaos have followed.

As life becomes more complex in its demands, as work becomes more specialized in its nature, it becomes more essential for the peace and prosperity of a people that the distribution of all forms of wealth be most strictly related to functional needs. This means the same basis of pay

for the scavenger and the king. The functional needs will cover the domestic needs, causing pay to vary with the size of the family and the age of its members.

When we consider the diversity of things which go to the upkeep of a decent homestead on one side and of an effective workshop on the other, we see that the rationing of these things cannot be effected by an exchange of the things. A distribution of good things of many kinds, coming from many persons and localities, can be effected only by the introduction of handy symbols tokening the real things. For this purpose we have monetary tokens. Each token has its definite purchasing-power over the realities annually produced. Thus with their help the equitable distribution of the joint annual output has become, so far as our bread and butter are concerned, almost automatic. From time to time this automatic system has to be readjusted to our new conception of what is the due apportionment to A, B, and C, also in making the dividend from the national wealth cover more important things than bread and butter.

We should have our minds clear on this point, that the payment which a man receives is not a reward for his work; it is simply a means by which he draws from the common stock so much as enables him to do his work and bring up his family. To the carpenter so much, to the judge so much. Pay is thus a social institution and an ethical instrument. Through it the responsibility of the man to his fellows and of his fellows to him is periodically affirmed and confirmed.

The application of this principle of pay necessarily rules out all "gain," that most disturbing element in an industrial community. It makes every worker or payee a national servant; one with full liberty in the choice of his work, freedom in his way of doing it, yet, for all this, a servant of his country as much as if he fingered the King's shilling.

In new industries and services grown up during the

last century—speculative venture and mass production in factories—the chief officials are not yet subject to any restraint upon what they take out, as are those in the older crafts and professions. They fix what the operative shall take out, while giving a loose rein to their own acquisitiveness.

Man considered in his relation to nature can reap only that which nature may give him; it may be somewhat less than he would have, or something more than he must have. But this uncertain variation would make the steps of civilization too insecure, so the community reduces these variations to a minimum by its even distribution of the joint output. Each member receives a regulated portion of whatever the group may yearly win from Dame Nature as a result of the combined effort. This portion will be related, first, to the total harvest; secondly, to the man's need. In this arbitrary relation a man's needful portion must be reckoned on a scale that will equally satisfy the normal needs of every other member. If a shortage, then all will go short; if an abundance, all will share it. But how far any apportionment will fill the compass of human needs must always depend upon the effectiveness of the combined effort. The day's discontent and consequent ineffectiveness of effort are due to the contention of the proletariat, that those who rigidly fix its wage take for their share more than is required to meet, in most ample degree, their functional needs. This has thrown a barrier across the road of progress, and brought our civilization to a standstill.

Notwithstanding these serious evils, the present disordered system should not be broken up suddenly; it should gradually be brought into line with the order of social evolution. The gains which no system of ethics can justify should in justice to expectancy be permitted for a term, at which time pensions will need to be universal. Many European governments by their fiscal operations suddenly and unjustly confiscated all those

internal credits which were the accumulations of gain. Our own Government by increasing the volume of money likewise robbed all home investors of nearly half their property. Such action is neither wise nor just. It should be clear that only in a house divided against itself can "gain" be a possibility. In a group of four persons all cannot gain; one at least must be a loser for the rest to be gainers.

The social regulation of what a man may reap from a harvest all men have helped to sow, will not rob a man of his freedom either to gratify a personal taste or to indulge in a particular recreation. Any one who desires something more costly than what his fellow workers demand can have his enjoyment by personal sacrifice of some customary comfort or convenience. Life would indeed be drab were this not possible. But that any one citizen or class without some such sacrifice should be able to gratify costly taste, or enjoy an exclusive recreation is intolerable. The manly view is expressed by Whitman when he says: "By God! I will have nothing that all cannot have their counterpart of on the same terms."

XXIV

PROPERTY AND PROPRIETORSHIP

AMONG the more important features of the human evolution is the change which has taken place in the character of human groups and in the man's relation to his group. The simple aggregates of primitive days composed of self-maintaining and self-determining families have developed into complex and cohesive communities. Into the tapestry of the community the inner and outer life of each individual are inextricably woven as essentials of its

pattern. So much is this so that apart from the life of the community the man has no life. As a part of this bigger life his nature is enriched, though at the loss of economic independence. As he becomes conscious that he may draw more largely from this corporate life he identifies himself the more completely with it. Thus the man and the group develop together in a mutuality of welfare. One result of this more conscious relationship is man's truer conception of the social function of proprietorship and the meaning of property. It is borne in upon the citizen that, if this mutuality of welfare is to be maintained, those things which are the source of this welfare and in whose fruitful use the public is as much concerned as the individual must be regarded as a mutual possession. This can take practical shape not otherwise than by a tenure of property by the individual from the State; such tenure being made permanent and free by right of services rendered to the community in its proper use. This tenure should apply to all forms of property save the homestead with its appurtenances and a man's tools.

In this mutual tenure of productive property the obligations are reciprocal and reinforce each other. The State secures a freedom of tenure for the holder from generation to generation; while the holder ensures a usage beneficial to the common weal. This security of tenure with freedom from any toll levied upon it completes the emancipation of the citizen worker. Any system of nationalization not based upon the nation's obligation to her citizens will make thralls of its freemen. Moreover, a State department with unlimited power will not stay its routine of aggression till its tentacles have closed round the homestead. What more familiar example have we of a property, that in the nature of things must be one's very own, than the home garden, whose free cultivation is a builder of character, and in whose perennial pageantry of beauty is found the sweetest

recreation? Where is the man who would consent to have this ancestral pleasure-ground subject to the control of a State official? Common sense warns us against the adoption of any system which may rob man of his natural stimulus to do his best. So long as man has security of tenure in his own power he has this natural stimulus to do his best. But with the homestead tenure should go further; it should be inalienable and regarded as a family heirloom. As families get back upon their land this will be important.

With the birth of communities the tenure of land was always subject to communal service. In these latter days we have been too much bent over our machines to observe the silent encroachment of the landlords upon the heritage of a people whom the factory had divorced from the soil. The ills of a proletarian population have somewhat rudely summoned attention to the situation brought about by these encroachments. Owing to the density of our population and the limited area of our land, the State must assert its ancient right on behalf of the liberties of the people. The "Spirit of the Age" has permitted the exploitation of property for a gain which releases the gainer from the common obligation of national service. The Spirit of the Age has ever the tendency to land one in the mire, and from this mire the ethical conscience would now deliver us. Yet the prevalence of so pernicious a custom is due not to the wilful perversity of a class, but to just want of thought. Were the large property owner or capitalist not lacking in imaginative reason there would be no complaint against him on the score of his proprietorship. He would see that as his tenure has been made secure by a social system he has inherited, so must his employ of this property be such as will benefit the society of his day and the welfare of his social successors.

Every man driving his car upon the king's highway recognizes the conditions of his usage-right, under which

any violation of them causes him the forfeiture of his licence to use the road. When it is as generally recognized that the usage-right of the nation's land is similarly conditioned in the public interest the user will have a care not to forfeit his licence. The prime sources of wealth are limited, so their full exploitation is a public concern; nor can we be too watchful of any move likely to interfere with this full exploitation of our lands. To make it difficult for the landless folk to get back upon the land is an interference of this kind. Consequently power has recently been given to local authorities for compulsory purchase of land upon application made by a landless man for a holding to cultivate for food production. Families numbering some hundreds of thousands have thus been settled as freeholders upon the land of their fathers.

With a clearer vision of the distinction between the prime sources of wealth and other forms of property, the purchase of an exclusive right will be seen not to fit the case. The land, rivers, and sea-shores will be exploited by those willing to exploit them under a licence. It will follow from this formality of the occupier holding from his country, king, or State, that when he or his heir ceases to cultivate a holding he shall not be free to let another cultivate it on condition of paying a perpetual tribute. Land used for building and other industrial purposes will be treated in the same way as agricultural land, the buildings being regarded as the occupier's own property, though subject always to the public interest both as regards structure and use. When the time is ripe—that is, when the sense of justice is wide enough to take into its ken the personal no less than the impersonal or public interest, and when the economic position for every one is made secure by universal pensions—then may these better ways rule. Railways, mines, postal services, etc., may then be safely and efficiently run as private ventures under a wide licence, subject only to

such regulations as the guild dealing with the particular service may impose. For this regulation in the public interest each guild has a State-appointed president. When the guild organization has grown to the full stature of the day's industry, the guildsman, whatever his sphere of service, will probably carry this on under licence from his guild in place of from his country. The medical man, the teacher, lawyer, auctioneer, valuer, publican, and many another are to-day carrying on their vocations under a licence from either their society or the State. It is essential, however, that the State be no competitor with its licensee, or his freedom is jeopardized. Social control need go no farther, its ultimate purpose being effected when it has made the individual secure in the service he has chosen, and the public safe for the harvesting of this service.

What a fair view of extended freedom, peace, dignity, and beauty within the human hive does not the true conception of property unfold! In scrambling for his own gain man will make the fairest property an ash heap, his fellow man a tool. So speak the last two centuries.

Those lordly natures which have created the valuable assets of civilization—the discoverers, artists, poets, philosophers, and scientists—these men have generally regarded what they have done, not as a private property, but as their contribution to the health, wealth, consolation, and recreation of mankind. They have scorned to profit by the patent monopolies a commercial age has introduced. Man has a natural instinct to work, a natural love for his work, a natural desire to do his best, come what may. This is the answer to any who insist upon the necessity of a mercenary incentive.

The right to property is, then, founded upon its being an instrument by which its user may fulfil his obligation to his country, and its terms of tenure such as may be the same for any citizen.

XXV

THE COMMON WEALTH

THE Wealth which it is the desire of all to share consists not in those things which the rust and moth corrupt, but in things incorruptible and of increasing worth as civilization advances. The things of necessity must be shared, or life cannot be maintained; and the common law of the land in its crude way sees to this sharing. But man is now coming of age, and demands that he enter his inheritance. This inheritance comprises the priceless gifts of civilization; it is a Wealth which can be measured only in the scales of Power: the power of a people to imagine beautiful things and to create them; the power to make a fuller use of social opportunities through our institutions, arts, sciences, religion, and law. These are the powers a people will seek to possess; this is the wealth it will hope to enjoy. Before a people can enter into such a possession, much spade work has to be done. Families have yet to be made as healthy as our domestic animals, work as happy as the nest building of birds, the homesteads in the community as secure as the coral cells in their reef. The things of worth cannot be enjoyed till these lesser things be.

Nothing can we regard as Wealth save that which gives its possessor Power to live his full life in a world of comrades for whom the same full life should be possible on the same terms. No possession which in its nature is exclusive and beyond the reach of others, however good in itself, can form part of the Common Wealth until its possession is made to conduce to the social uplift.

With the growth of the Social mind man's idea of Wealth and of Welfare is carried to a higher plane, from which the personal life is viewed as part of the tapestry

of the group life. In days when life was a struggle between man and man for physical supremacy, the accumulation of tangible wealth was a necessity of survival. Now that the struggle of man is for a spiritual supremacy over his material environment, the nature of what he seeks as wealth necessarily changes.

We must also remember that wealth consists not in the mere possession, but in the active use and enjoyment of a thing. Only that money which a man spends, and spends to obtain something of use to his soul-life and body-life, can be counted as part of his wealth.

XXVI

THE RISE OF INDUSTRIES, ARTS, AND CULTURES

From every fruition of success shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary. —WALT WHITMAN.

PROGRESS is made by man in two directions. Increase of manual skill, with increased knowledge of the processes of nature, makes for progress in the material fitness of things. Though still destined to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, man's toil is reduced: he has better food on easier terms, and may add many conveniences to his life. Yet, though toil be reduced, the struggle is not. Man now has vision of a new world to conquer, involving a struggle to win it. In this new world of culture progress must be made, or material successes will avail little. To obtain a mastery over the personal instincts, to develop the spiritual faculties, to make use of the gifts which civilization has acquired through the past, to add imagination to reason and beauty to achievement, to build the social or moral man—all this constitutes the other kind

of progress. And these two kinds of progress must, we repeat, proceed at the same rate, for they are reciprocal and rely upon each other.

However high may be the attainment of civilization, its physical basis remains. There is no human acquisition which is not primarily gained through the well-directed industry which sustains man's physical body. Having made his first step in getting bread to feed his body, he has learned how to take his second step in getting food for his spirit. From animal needs he pushes on to human needs.

As ideals are realized, new ideals—which are new facts in the making—spring up, urging us to their realization by their presentment of some unrealized beauty. These new ideals grow upon the substance of old ideals, as the buttercup grows upon the humus of last year's plants. These ideals lead man on from industry to craft, and from craft to culture. Throughout the past man's activities have developed in a certain order, which is the order of their gift to the social man. It is also the order in which each activity reaches its highest development. The first to develop is the biologic industry which keeps our animal nature alive and vigorous. As men are released from agriculture there arise industries for the extraction of minerals, timber, and other things from the earth; also industries for fashioning these raw materials into implements. After these, in their full development come the constructive industries and crafts, such as building, weaving, pottery, metalwork, etc.; then come the movement services—roads, railways, and shipping. Next will come the arts which clothe life with its vesture of beauty—the education of the mind, the training and healing of the body. These industries, crafts, and cultures are crowned by the regulative service of Government in its dual form of the temporal and spiritual.

As soon as man co-operated with man to get his bread, the germ of government was implanted in human society,

and with every advance of industry has government grown, man becoming increasingly sociable and increasingly governable.

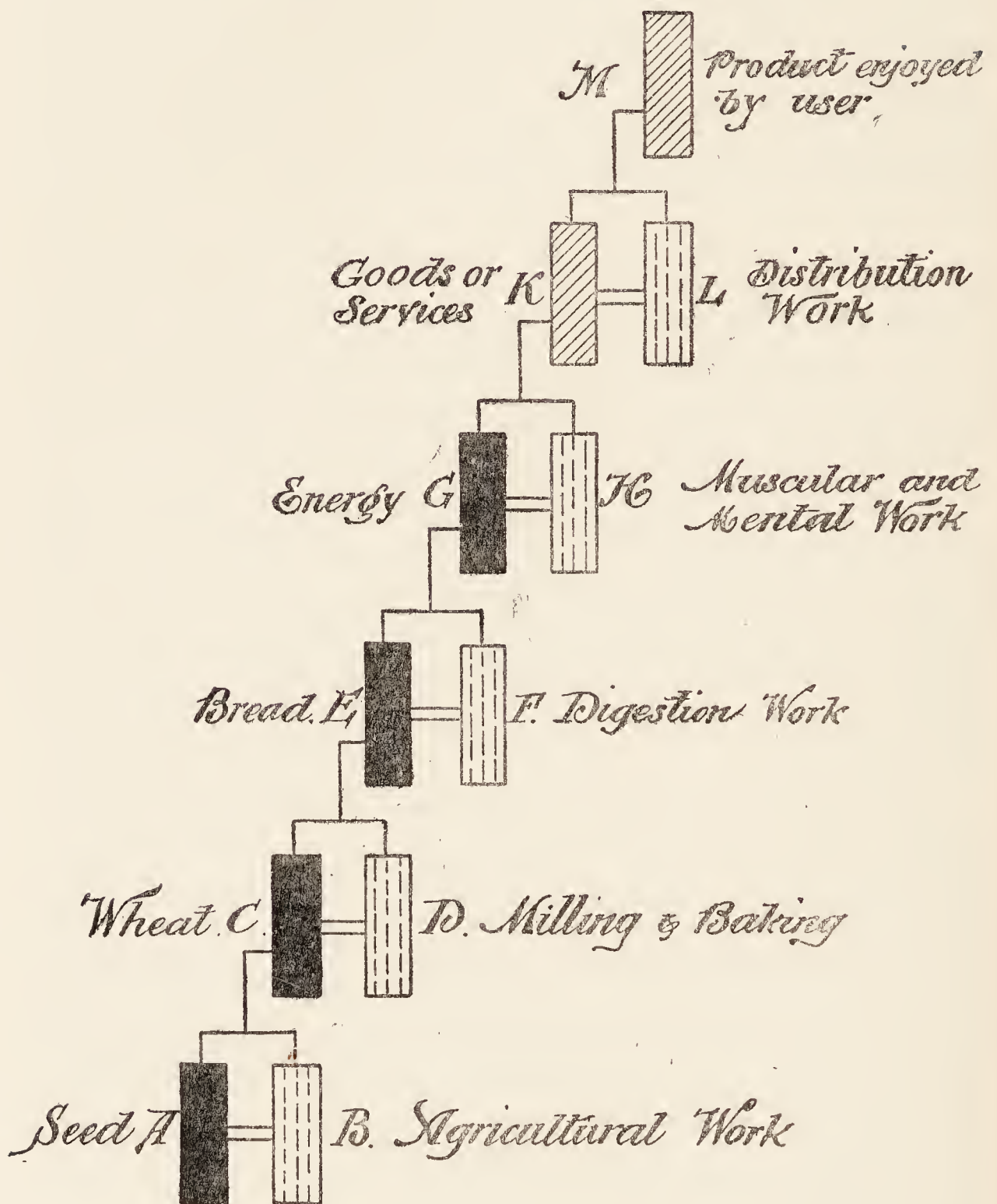
This order of industrial development is characterized by an increasing complexity of experience owing to the greater complexity of the phenomena with which industries deal as they rise. Another characteristic is the increasing demand made upon the imaginative and æsthetic side of man's nature. As we ascend, industry by industry, there is a larger claim made by each industry, or craft, upon the intellect, the imagination, and the emotions; also a richer gift of service to these faculties does each craft bestow as it ascends. Hence each industry in its ascent becomes of greater social importance as a developer of human nature. Man cannot arrive at his best until he can live under a wise government.

The benefits arising from the development of Industries, Arts, and Cultures are cumulative: in the first place, intensively with regard to the individual; in the second place, extensively with regard to the aggregate. Progress is thus a result of this extensive amelioration of the whole people through private and public work of an increasingly high order.

With the rise of industries the professional order of worker becomes more important owing to his higher specialization. There is therefore an increasing obligation upon the professional man to do whatever he does in the best way it can be done. His instructive work must be as thorough in its workmanship as the constructive work of the craftsman who houses him, and as the productive work of the husbandman who feeds him. For is he not wholly kept alive and in comfort by the work of other men's hands?

XXVII

THE CHAIN OF WORK-PROCESSES



THE object of this diagram is to illustrate that sub-division of work which is necessary, first, for economic production ; secondly, for that increase of leisure which culture demands. Up to a point this sub-division is of

service to man's happiness and development; carried beyond this point, man's interest in his work disappears, his development is arrested, and discontent overtakes him. For the greater period of our days we work, and since by our work come wisdom, beauty, and the growth of our intellectual faculties, no work should be forced upon a man which leaves him at the end of it no wiser, no happier, no more alert. We have evidently overstepped the limits of sub-division when we seek to impose upon a man work of this kind. Co-operation does not necessitate this extreme sub-division; indeed, co-operation should lighten the burden of disagreeable work which has to be done.

In this hive of co-operating workers, the work which has to be done will consist of successive processes, a number of which are incidental to the production of the simplest thing we buy at the store. The whole sum of work to be done for the maintenance and exaltation of the collective life may be regarded as a long series of processes, the first of which is the production of foodstuff. A breakfast must precede the work of every man. This breakfast results from the work of some one who has mated his energy with nature's seed. Many are the subsequent marriages between nature's material and human work before an offspring is born for the market in the form, say, of the kettle we get from the shop. When we consider the variety of things which we enjoy while we are each engaged, day by day, in some one work-process—forging one link in the chain that draws wealth, health, and beauty to every home—the meaning of the words, “each works for all and all work for each,” is brought home to us in its truth and practical intensity. This is the foundation-stone upon which the fabric of a community is built. It underlies and overrules every economic relationship between men; it establishes the equality of industrial status for all.

Viewing in perspective this long chain of work-pro-

cesses by means of which the Community, as a great industrial family, is maintained, what immense responsibilities suggest themselves to the mind of the man who is forging his one link, upon whose strength so many other links depend! Also what immense range of injury if but one man shirk his work or do it badly!

In this long chain of processes there is an immense variety of work. Each kind of work requires special gifts, special training, and even special recreation. Each kind of work has a speed, and a fatigue peculiar to the nature of the work. There is but one thing which is the same whatever be the work—that is, the food which produces the power to do. This does not vary, man's biologic necessities being practically the same, whether the man be working with his spade or his pen.

We all eat our country's food. Let us in return each do the best we can for our country.

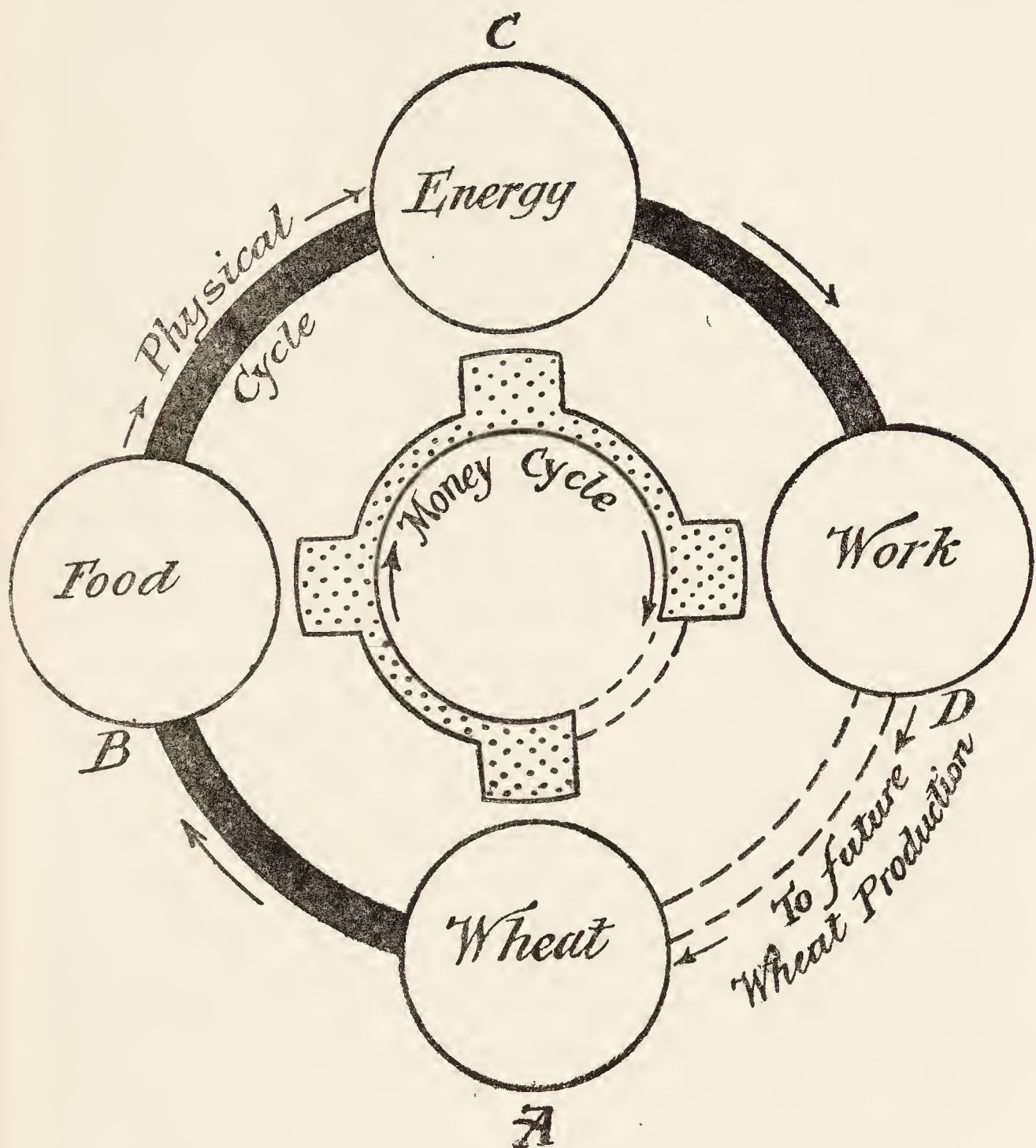
XXVIII

MONEY: ITS FUNCTION AND MEANING

DIRECTLY we deal with money we are, in a most practical manner, brought up against the fact that the individual, as an isolated being, has no existence; is an abstract idea with no concrete basis. Money is an instrument which necessitates a stable relationship between those using it. Only by virtue of this settled relationship between all members of a community can this communal instrument function for the group by (a) controlling and (b) facilitating the process of common wealth distribution and apportionment.

Money is the objective result of the economic law underlying the economic welfare of the group—the law

which imposes upon each person the obligation of some work for the maintenance of all, also decrees that what each does shall belong, not to the individual, but to the



whole. Were this not so, there would be no use for money ; we should need only bags and daggers.

In the primitive and unrestrained competitive days, when barter was customary, the individual could not see beyond his own power to get, nor beyond his own need to possess. The use of money as a social instrument has brought order and justice into man's commercial transac-

tions. His power to extort has been curtailed by common consent ; his needs as a citizen have been supplied without the risks of barter. And these needs have been subjected to a common measure whose scale custom recognizes.

We have already seen that a man's needs include his domestic and occupational requirements. And since these needs are met by the work of many workers, the common measure must be applicable to all this diversity of work. This would be impossible were it not that work of every kind, as we have seen, may be resolved into its raw material—food. Hence all domestic and all occupational needs may be resolved into food-needs. The organization of economic supplies becomes then, in its ultimate purpose, the organization of the distribution and apportionment to the several citizens of a nation's available food supply. To facilitate this rapid distribution upon the basis of an equitable and invariable apportionment—to each according to his need and expectancy—the community has introduced money.

The supply of vital foodstuff is limited, and strictly limited, as a rule, to demand, in a way nothing else is. Each family has a definite and generally an invariable demand for vital foodstuff. That its needs may be met this demand imposed by Dame Nature has to be satisfied. This effective apportionment of the food supply is, therefore, a matter of common concern. How money facilitates this distribution, apportioning to each family its needful supply—no more, no less—we will proceed to show.

First, the needful supply of vital foodstuff to a family, or, what we may call “the family portion,” is linked up, by the agency of money, with the particular contribution by the male head of the family to the commonwealth. This particular output of a particular kind of worker—carpenter, lawyer, or medical man—is “priced” by the community, through the man's occupational society. Upon this special work-output of A, B, C, etc., a value in

foodstuffs is set, this value being *not the value of the work done*, but the *recognized equivalent*, in terms of foodstuff, of *the family maintenance* or livelihood of the worker. What constitutes the family maintenance and by whom evaluated we have explained. It is, however, by no means *fairly* settled yet, being amidst much contention in process of valuation and settlement. Every man may nevertheless discover by his experience the boundary of his necessities, outside of which he will be either receiving a shortage of good things or else be taking to himself an excess. The rule, as we have seen, is simple enough and quite universally applicable throughout the commonwealth; it is that the character of a man's work, together with the number and age of his dependents, give the true assessment of his "family portion"—his portion of the common stock of newly created wealth. To get this portion to his door, neither increased by greed nor decreased by fraud, the social instrument of money has been brought into universal use. Money thus forges a link between what a man shall have and what he shall do.

In the period of barter it was a simple matter to exchange stuffs for foodstuffs. Not so simple is it to-day to sell your stuff to A and B for pieces of metal which, when handed to C and D, will enable you to obtain from them your foodstuffs and goods. That such monetary transactions between persons, probably unknown one to another, may satisfy all parties in accordance with the social intention, certain conditions are necessary. First, the pieces of metal received must betoken the assessed value, or *food-cost*, of your output; secondly, they must guarantee the supply of a *fixed* portion of foodstuff. These are the two essentials, without which there can be no stable nor fair exchange. Hence each piece of money in circulation must actuate both as a measure of vital foodstuff and as a title-deed securing for the holder the enjoyment of his assessed portion in foodstuffs; or,

alternately, in goods and services to the value of this portion of foodstuffs.

To endow money with the property of a *measure* that will betoken a definite and foreknown quantity of vital foodstuff—this foodstuff always being a part of the national stock—must necessarily be a national function. To constitute money an effective title-deed guaranteeing for the holder the possession, when required, of a portion of the national foodstuffs to the amount of its face value must also be a national function. These two functions the State, and only the State, can fulfil. But this fulfilment necessitates certain conditions, which we will explain.

The total annual work-output of the country may be regarded as the marketable resultant of its total annual food-consumption. For, although the larger portion of the food consumed goes to the life and growth of the personnel in a family and only the small balance goes to the work-output, still, when this work-output is sold, it has to bring in not only the energy expended in the work-product, but all that energy expended in the life and growth of the personnel concerned. The citizen, in order to work, must live; the community, in order to live, must feed his family.

All commercial transactions, then, are transactions between citizens having for their sole end the possibility of life and work for all concerned. To these transactions, by the use of a national instrument, the nation becomes a party, and the most important party. It is made a party in this way. To every unit of its money there is given a definite purchasing-power over the national stock of foodstuffs, and as a consequence of this a fixed purchasing-power over human effort in the form of goods and services. This power given to the money is transferred to the holder of the money. It is clear that if each unit of the national money is to have this power of purchase, acting as a title-deed guaranteeing for its holder the possession of so much bread and butter, the amount of national units and title-

deeds must be strictly limited. The nation cannot indefinitely issue title-deeds. Their issue must tally with the *amount* of property to which they entitle the holders. This *regulation* of monetary issue is then the function of the State as third party to all commercial transactions within the State.

Experience has taught us that the total amount of money required by the whole population will range round the total amount of the *vital* foodstuffs consumed by the population between harvest and harvest, calculated at a price which is parity value for each unit of the money. In other words, without alteration of food prices, the total legal tender money annually in circulation should equal the total vital foodstuffs annually consumed. From this equilibrium (however brought about) between the source of all new wealth—foodstuffs—and the tokens measuring this new wealth there can, of course, be no permanent departure. The one *is* the other, under a change of terms. But that the *units* may not vary in their food-purchasing-power, *the quantitative relationship between foodstuffs and money must not be permitted to vary.*

As more foodstuffs are annually consumed, the State must annually issue more legal tender money. This equilibrium registers itself in the stability of “price” for the staple foodstuff of the country; a price which regulates the prices of all goods and services into which food-energy is converted. From any existing relationship between these two items—food and work—which are the items measured out in the scales employed in all transactions dealing with human effort, it is impossible to make any change. The relation is one founded upon a cosmic law, or process.

In measuring values we have to get down to a basic or a “standard value,” to which the scale of our measuring-rod is permanently adjusted. There is but one standard value—the value of the staple foodstuff, wheat. The value

of all other things is relative to this basic value, and whatever cannot be so related, by sale or purchase, can have no commercial value whatsoever.

The State, then, has to provide an instrument which, under all circumstances, shall be the equal measure, or equivalent thereabout, of the total amount of vital foodstuffs annually consumed by the nation; an instrument capable also of being indefinitely divided up into fractional parts, each fractional part having the same properties as the whole—that is, each part actuating as a measure of a similar fraction of the total foodstuffs, and giving good title thereto. Such an instrument may then act as a register of the portion of foodstuffs which is due to John Brown upon the sale of his work-output; his output having been previously assessed *at a value in foodstuff*, as already explained. Thus, through the agency of money, in terms of which assessments of value are made, there is a balance brought about between the food which a man takes from the common stock and the work which he contributes to this stock. This economic balance lies at the root of an equitable distribution of the wealth annually created. The State becomes the paymaster of the man. For through the adoption of a State money does a man get his maintenance from the national output instead of from this or that man's labour.

The food-purchasing-power of the total monetary issue can never alter, by machinations either of financier or legislator.

Money can never purchase more than the food-value of the total wealth annually created, nor will it purchase less than this. But that the several units may not vary in their food-purchasing-power there must be no change in the quantitative issue of money save what corresponds with a change in the quantitative consumption of vital foodstuffs. Any change in one only of these twin factors will be reflected in a change of the wheat-price—that is, a change in the food-purchasing-power of the units of

money. The conception of "value" is built entirely upon this equivalency.

This correspondence between the *speculum* and the reality which is speculated or mirrored is inevitable and automatic. So soon as the existing quantitative relationship between total foodstuffs and total money is broken by an alteration in the amount of one factor only, then there is a gradual and automatic readjustment which is registered in (a) an alteration in the price of foodstuff and (b) an alteration in the food-purchasing-power of a monetary unit. Let there be an increase in the volume of money, then the price of foodstuffs is raised. Let there be a reduction of money, then the price of foodstuffs is lowered, and the general purchasing-power of the sovereign is altered reciprocally, but inversely.¹ Hence, in the stability of the wheat-price-level (home production) we have an evident test of stability in the relationship between (a) the total face value, or parity-purchasing-power of the whole monetary issue in circulation, and (b) the total amount of vital foodstuffs to be sold for annual consumption by the nation. In other words, the total food-purchasing-power of the money will equal the total *value* of the new internal wealth annually created and available for purchase; the value of the new internal wealth and the value of the vital food consumed being precisely the same, since the former is the result of the latter value.

With this vital relation undisturbed at its source, every

¹ As an example of the automatic action of the volume of money upon general prices, here are the figures for 1913 and 1920:—

	1913.		1920.
Volume of money of all kinds...	178 millions	...	536 millions
Wholesale price of commodities	100	„	352.9 „
Food prices (retail)	102	„	291 „
Cost of living (Index No.)	102	„	276 „

The national money was increased to three times its volume, the retail food prices tallying with this increase. In the wholesale trade there was an excess of profiteering artificially increasing these prices above the 300; while rents were artificially prevented from rising, thus keeping the cost of living somewhat below the 300 per cent. rise one would expect.

monetary fraction—sovereign or shilling—will betoken and will purchase a constant volume of home wheat; moreover, every sovereign, having behind it in its frequent journeys from pocket to pocket, and for ultimate purchase, a constant volume of vital foodstuff, becomes automatically a title-deed to this predetermined quantity of food whenever required. That is, any one fraction of the national money guarantees to the holder the possession of a predetermined fractional portion of the national stock of new food, goods, and services against which it has been issued.

It will be observed that this method of maintaining stability of price-level necessarily excludes the introduction of a large volume of vital foodstuff produced at a lower food-cost overseas, and sold in unrestrained competition against the like stuff produced at home. The market value in open competition will be an average between the home and the imported values. The national money will bring itself into balance with this lowered value; each fraction of money will purchase more stuff; prices will fall. Home wheat will fall below production cost; the food producer will be robbed by his country of a part of his rightful share of the national wealth.

To maintain stability of price, or, rather, to maintain stability of every man's dividend upon the national wealth—in which he has invested his muscle and brain—the State must so control the sale of these vital imports that they do not lower the price of home stuff below production cost. This control would be exercised by the grant of licences; and the difference between the import-purchase-price and the home-sale-price, gathered by the State under these licences, would be returned to the public by a reduction of some national tax or in redemption of national debt.

By making this monetary instrument a legal tender in all transactions between members of the community every worker is assured that he sells his labour and buys his food with the same measure, day after day—a measure

as constant as the national measure of length or weight. Moreover, as we have said, it is the nation's guarantee to its citizens that each shall have his appointed portion or dividend of the national stock of wealth as and when he needs the same for himself and his family.

Owing to the nature of the public convenience for which money has been introduced, it has acquired certain unforeseen powers, which have been made use of by individuals to their own gain and to a loss by others. In the future the State will find a way of staying this abuse of a national instrument. Such abuse conceals its social purpose, and makes it appear an anti-social instrument or class weapon of offence. In its proper use it is a daily manifestation that we are all members of one body, and that, if one suffer or go short, all will in some degree suffer or go short. Every one who touches a shilling enters into a bond of fair dealing with all his fellows. Money is also a manifestation that a man does not work for himself; that what he produces and markets does not belong to him. Further, that a man is paid not for his work, but that he may do his work; his work going to build the national capital-stock out of which he takes his dividend.

The adoption of gold money has been a stage in that evolution which, out of a loose and incoherent aggregate of human beings, is producing a coherent, organic, and co-operative State. Time, industrial development, and solidarity were necessary to manifest the inconveniences arising from the endeavour to establish a fixed standard of value by a very elastic and non-vital agent. The production of gold varies from year to year, both in the volume extracted and in the labour-cost of its extraction. Gold, moreover, is not vital to life. Foodstuffs must always be subject to some variation in the volume of their consumption through changes in the number of the population and in the standard of living, while climatic vicissitudes will always introduce variations in the labour-

cost of food production. Hence, a *fixed* relation cannot be established between two products of human labour, each of which is continually varying in ways that cannot be foreknown: the price of effort cannot be stabilized.

Gold money was destined, by the operation of the law which introduced it, to be replaced by a paper certificate, or title, which, costing no effort to produce, is not in itself subject to any variation of value. A note can betoken on its face an *invariable* volume of the staple foodstuff of the country wherein it is legal tender. Such an instrument will always actuate as a fixed measure of human effort, in whatever form this effort may take shape or have commercial value, provided its issue is regulated in the manner explained above.

The paper certificates, or dividend certificates, now constituting the national legal tender money, borrow both their nomenclature and their face-value as food-purchasers from the metallic money which they have superseded. The total issue of this paper money, together with silver and bronze coins, will token a value or reality-purchasing-power equal to the total value or selling price of the vital foodstuffs consumed between harvest and harvest.

The principles underlying the operation of money are difficult to follow in our daily transactions, since its true function is so often diverted, partly by wilful dishonesty, partly by ignorant fictions. Hence, for rectitude in business some understanding of these principles is necessary. For instance, bankers and financiers, in their manipulations with the currency, produce psychological effects which are at times adverse, and at other times favourable, to trade. But too frequently they create a sense of insecurity which demands a return to gold money, as primitive folk return to their fetish at the first sign of danger.

What has been said above has reference only to legal tender money. It is necessary to explain the nature of credit instruments, such as bank cheques, bills of

exchange, and other securities for loans of money. These stand in a category by themselves. Their multiplication, or use, in no way alters the purchasing-power of the legal tender national money. However, the use made of a credit instrument in a single transaction has the similitude of a transaction with money. Some persons are deceived by this likeness into regarding a credit instrument as money.

A credit instrument is the evidence of a short term loan of money or of a long term loan. The cheque drawn by A in favour of B is the evidence of, and the security for, a debt due to A from the banker whose name is on the cheque. This debt B's banker will collect from A's banker. Upon the satisfaction of B's claim against A by receipt of national money the credit instrument dies a natural death. Further, a credit instrument gives the holder no claim upon the national assets in the open market, at any time and in any locality, as is the case with money. It constitutes no title to a dividend upon the new national capital. Its claim is limited, first, to the amount of the national money which may be owing to, or possessed by, a particular individual. Secondly, its claim is limited in point of time; if its claim to money is not satisfied within a specified period it ceases to be operative. Thus no amount of credit instruments can dilute the national money nor reduce its purchasing-power. Were it otherwise there could be no such thing as stability of price; any two bankers could upset the price of everything in the country.

It is sometimes said that money, and also credit, can create trade. This also is a fiction. All that money, or a credit instrument, can do is to facilitate an intended transaction between two parties for the satisfaction of some real need to each party. In these facilities a community need never be hampered by a shortage of money or a restriction of credit when the free play of these is not interfered with. For until moneys come round there

is no limit set upon the issue of credit instruments except that set by the honesty of the issuing party. Every food-token that the State issues will travel from man to man, a part of its way at times in the guise of a credit instrument, performing a cycle of exchanges in goods and services till used by some one to pick up its marked measure of foodstuff. It then again starts off on another round from man to man, actuating similar exchanges. This monetary cycle is a ceaseless round of exchanges, with intermittent purchases of foodstuff, till all mouths are fed and all vital foodstuff is purchased.

SUMMARY

1. Money is the scale which measures the "value" that is set upon work and upon the products of work.

2. This value is determined by the amount of vital food consumption necessary to enable a worker to maintain his family, repeat his work, and live his life.

3. Money, in acting as a measure of this amount of foodstuffs, must betoken at all times an invariable volume of foodstuff, or the loaf is short weight.

4. This measure is expressed in "price"; the price of vital foodstuff ruling the prices of all things into which food is converted by work.

5. Stability of general prices is the result of a stability in the equilibrium between the parity value of (a) the total national money in circulation and (b) the total annual consumption of vital foodstuffs by the nation calculated at the previously established price.

6. Alteration of an established equilibrium between these two items is reflected in an alteration of general prices, giving to each unit of money a larger or a smaller purchasing power.

7. Any increase of the money in circulation without a similar increase of food consumption dilutes the purchasing power of every sovereign and shilling by increasing the monetary value or price of all realities.

8. Any alteration in the scale of general prices at once vitiates every time-contract (wages, pensions, investments, rentals, etc.), bringing to one party unmerited gain, to another party an unforeseen loss.

9. The most stable and the most vital item of commerce among all sources of human energy is the staple foodstuff: wheat in the West, and rice in the East. The labour cost of its production, also the amount of its consumption, per head, is comparatively stable. Wheat price is therefore the most reliable basis of stability in prices. It is the price of every kind of human effort.

10. By the conventional assessment of "value" in the diverse forms of energy-products the apportionment of the common stock of energizing raw material is settled for each unit of the community as its dividend upon the new national wealth.

11. This value being registered in terms of money, and this apportionment of realities being effected through money, money becomes the most important agent, first in the valuation, and secondly in the distribution, of the national wealth.

12. Money not only registers a man's portion of the national wealth; it guarantees the delivery of this portion.

13. Credit instruments are not supplemental to money; their operation is confined to a security over an interval of time, at the maturity of which time a true sale and purchase is effected by the passing of national money from one party to the other.

14. The nominal sum of money indicated upon the total credit instruments operating in business at any one period does not increase by one sovereign the total purchasing-power of the legal tender pound notes in circulation.

15. Paper money, when made the sole legal tender, is endowed with the value of the metal money it supersedes, bestowing upon its holder the same purchasing-power as did the metal money.

16. The utilization of any material as money, unless it be given a fixed conventional value, must introduce a constantly disturbing element and prevent any permanent stability of general prices.

17. As nations stabilize their domestic monetary system, their international exchanges will be equally stable, since all commercial dealing in its ultimate operation is a dealing with the same elemental unit of value—staple foodstuff.

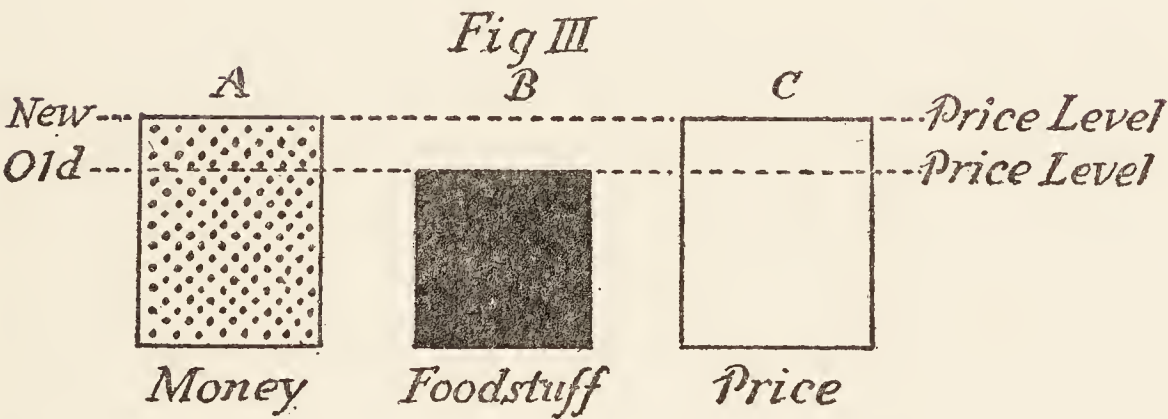
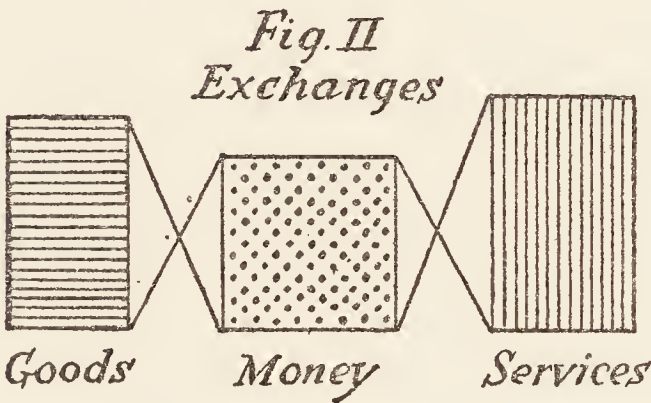
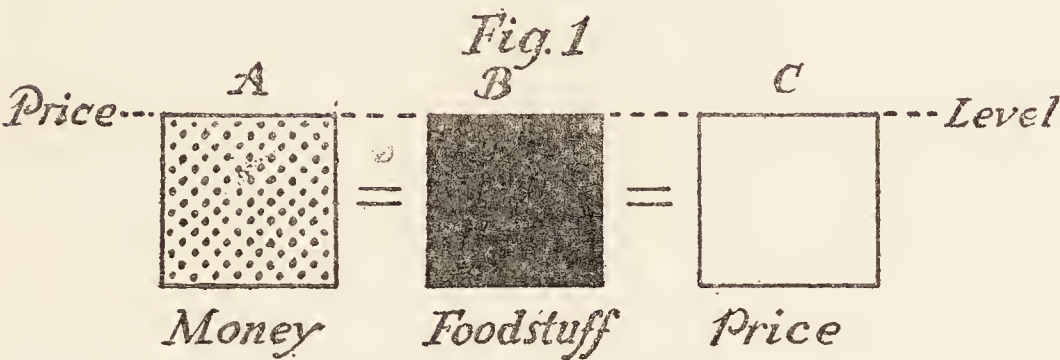
18. Any interference with the free operation of legal tender money by speculative practices must vitiate its efficiency as a stable measure of value.

19. Money has above all a moral purpose, and, as we freely recognize this purpose, its recognition will react upon our moral character, making us more worthy to enjoy the benefits which our country gives us without money and without price.

The kernel of the matter is this. Money having to measure Energy, does this by weighing the food eaten to make this energy. In one scale are all the sovereigns, in the other scale all the wheat. The two scales always balance. If there are one hundred sovereigns, then each sovereign equals or buys one-hundredth part of the wheat; if two hundred sovereigns, then each sovereign buys only half this quantity, and so on. The number of sovereigns being unaltered, price is unaltered. This operation of money is difficult to follow, because its free circulation is so interfered with. For example, the payment of enormous sums of money, merely as interest upon loans, so dislocates the circulation of money required for sales and purchases that so-called “advances” have to be made to producers and to merchants, amounting for the five London banks alone to three times the entire issue of legal tender money. This one disturbing operation, so remunerative to the banks, makes the amount of money in circulation “apparently” four times as large as it actually is.

XXIX

RESULT OF VARYING THE AMOUNT OF MONEY



WE have seen that from the nature and function of money the general-price-level under free conditions will accommodate itself to the volume of the national money in circulation. The general-price-level of goods is a reflection of the volume of food-purchasing-money in

circulation upon a comparatively stable volume of vital foodstuffs to be purchased, each fraction of money of like face value having the like food-purchasing-power. The food-purchasing-power of each unit of money will be such that the food-purchasing-power of all the units will equal the total foodstuff to be purchased from harvest to harvest. With any change in the volume of the money general prices will rise, or fall, till an equilibrium is brought about between the new total of money and the price-total of vital foodstuffs to be purchased. The scale of reckoning (prices) will shrink or extend with the shrinkage or extension of the reckoning medium (money).

In the diagram, Fig. I, this equilibrium is indicated. The total volume of monetary units in circulation (A) equals the price-total of the vital foodstuffs (B) to be purchased and consumed. The total price (C) of these vital realities (B) is shown as equal to the total food-purchasing-power of the money (A). In a later chapter we shall see that a variation in the total amount of goods and services, which are the subject of exchanges by means of money, does not affect the general price-level, nor does it affect the food-purchasing-power of a sovereign as would a variation in the total amount of vital foodstuffs. The above exchanges stand in a different category. We see this in the recent enormous sales of real estate, which have in no way affected the value of the sovereign. This class of exchanges—goods for goods and services for services—is indicated in Fig. II, where each item varies in total value from the other two.

Let us suppose the monetary units to be increased in number as indicated in A, Fig. III. The total-price-level of the foodstuffs (B) will be raised as shown by C. The volume of this purchasable foodstuff remaining constant, each monetary unit, or sovereign, will now purchase a smaller fraction of these foodstuffs, this foodstuff being purchased for consumption *once* only. The wheat-price and price of other vital foods will rise. This rise in the

price of food (C) will bring about a rise in the general-price-level of all things done upon the food consumed—goods and services.

Thus an increase of the monetary scale means a larger nominal purchasing-power; but the reality-purchasing-power or national dividend is kept constant by the constancy in the supply and demand of vital realities required for life's physical sustenance.

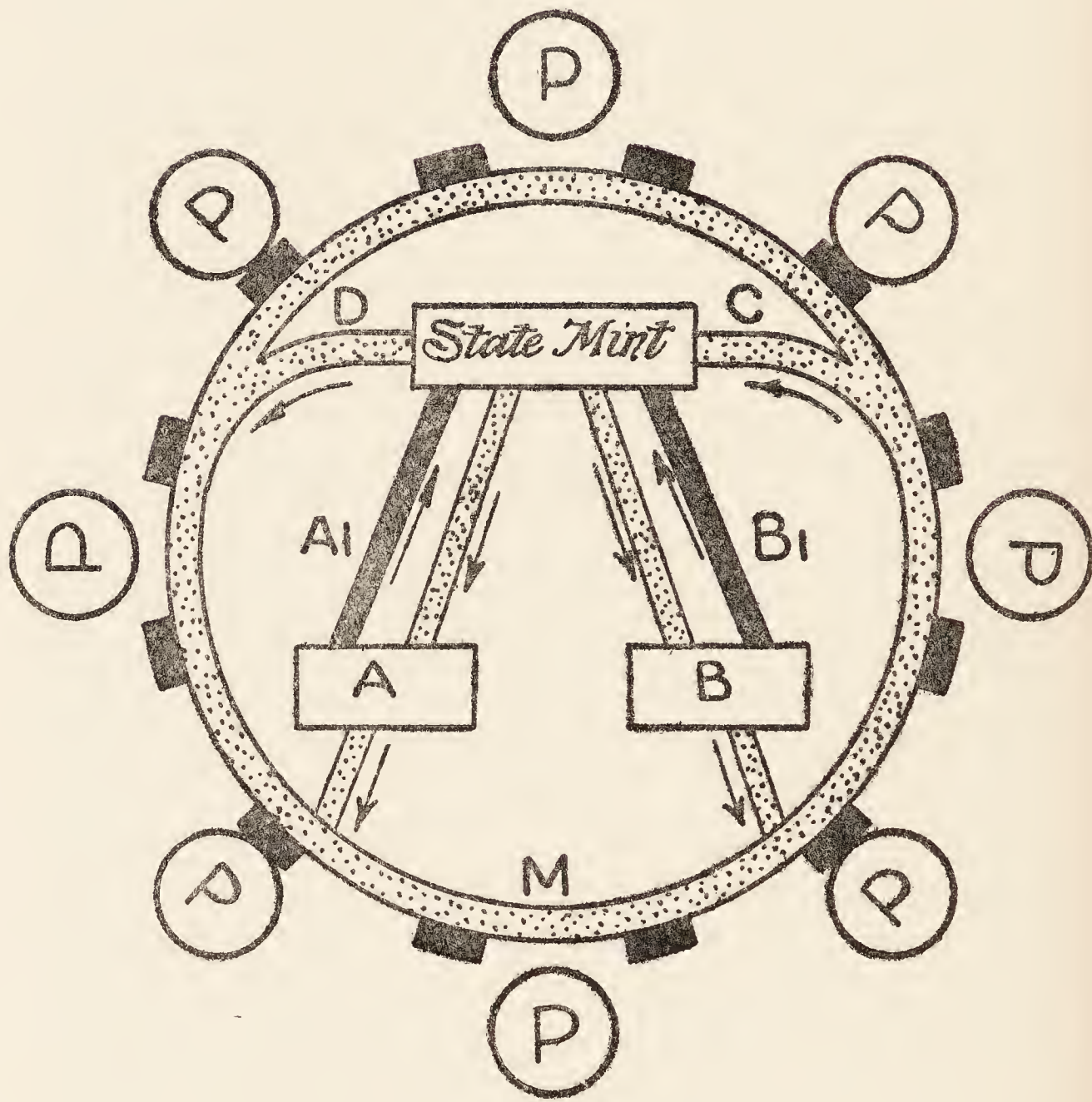
A decrease of the monetary scale has the same result in the opposite direction.

XXX

ISSUE OF NATIONAL MONEY

THE diagram which is printed on the following page illustrates the issue and circulation of national money. For its metallic money the National Mint through the Bank of England purchases the metal from bullion and metal merchants (A), and from others who have gold and silver to dispose of (B). This metal, when minted into money, along with the paper money issued through the Bank of England, goes into circulation (M). This circulating money is carried round from family to family by purchases, sales, and exchanges. A portion comes back to the National Treasury by way of Duties (C) and Taxes (D) payable by citizens to the State. This gets back again into circulation through expenditure by the State officials and civil servants to whom the money has been paid.

The State is responsible, or should be, for the regulation of the monetary issue; also for the proper use to be made of this national instrument, over which there should be no private control; nor from the use of it any personal gain. Paper money will be issued by the State Bank.



XXXI

THE JUST PRICE

One thing only you can know—namely, whether this dealing of yours is a just and faithful one, which is all you need concern yourself about respecting it; sure thus to have done your own part in bringing about ultimately in the world a state of things which will not issue in pillage and death.

—J. RUSKIN.

WE have seen that to every citizen is apportioned, through his occupational organ, a share of the common output; also that this share or dividend varies with the needs of our occupational equipment. Such regulated apportionment is devised to render unnecessary the snatching of what one can from one's neighbour, since it sets upon every kind of service a maintenance-value in terms of the national reckoner. We have also seen that all our interpersonal economic relations are based upon a recognition of these regulated maintenance-values. If we refuse to recognize them we become beasts of prey.

From what has been said as to the social purpose of the national money in making the apportionment of the common stock of wealth a just one for each, it will be evident that the welfare of all will depend largely upon each getting his just portion, no more and no less—that is, the just price ruling in every transaction. By “just price” we mean that the price which we each put upon our daily claim to the work of others contributing to the national capital is morally justified. Every one is concerned in your price and my price being morally or socially justified. It is no private matter. This just price is the basis of all sound business, as thoroughness is the basis of all good workmanship; it is an ethical basis, the bottom of all things human.

To this just price will be added each one's share of the “profit” arising in the biologic industries, the amount

available for this national dividend being published periodically by the Board of Agriculture.

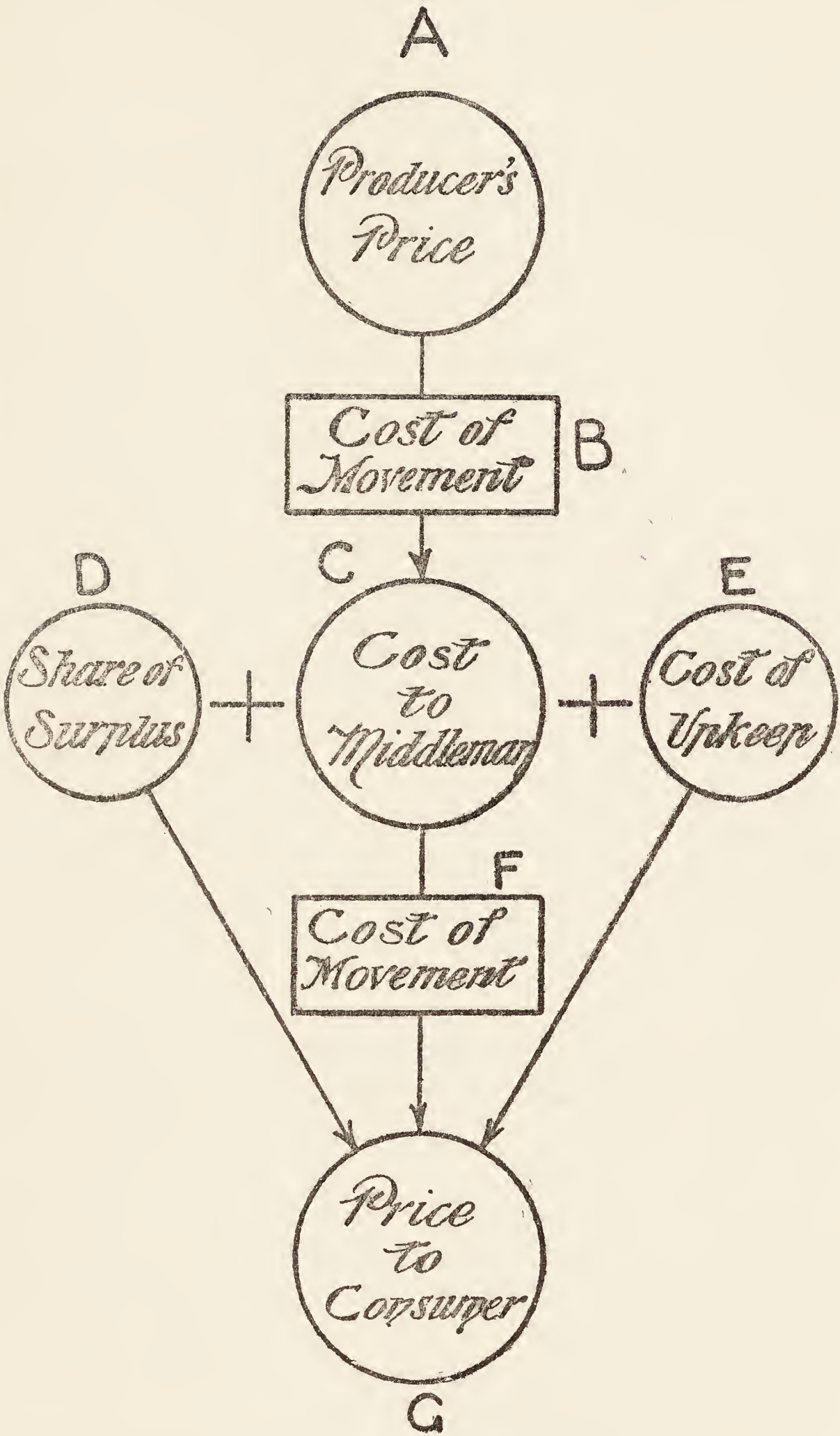
This just price was one of the first things insisted upon by the world's earliest Lawgiver. "Thou shalt have a perfect and just weight, a perfect and just measure shalt thou have; that thy days may be lengthened in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee" (Deut. xxv, 15). That in such early days it should have been so clearly seen how a people's life may be lengthened by the use of a just price shows how deeply intuitions will strike into the soil of truth.

XXXII

RETAIL PRICE

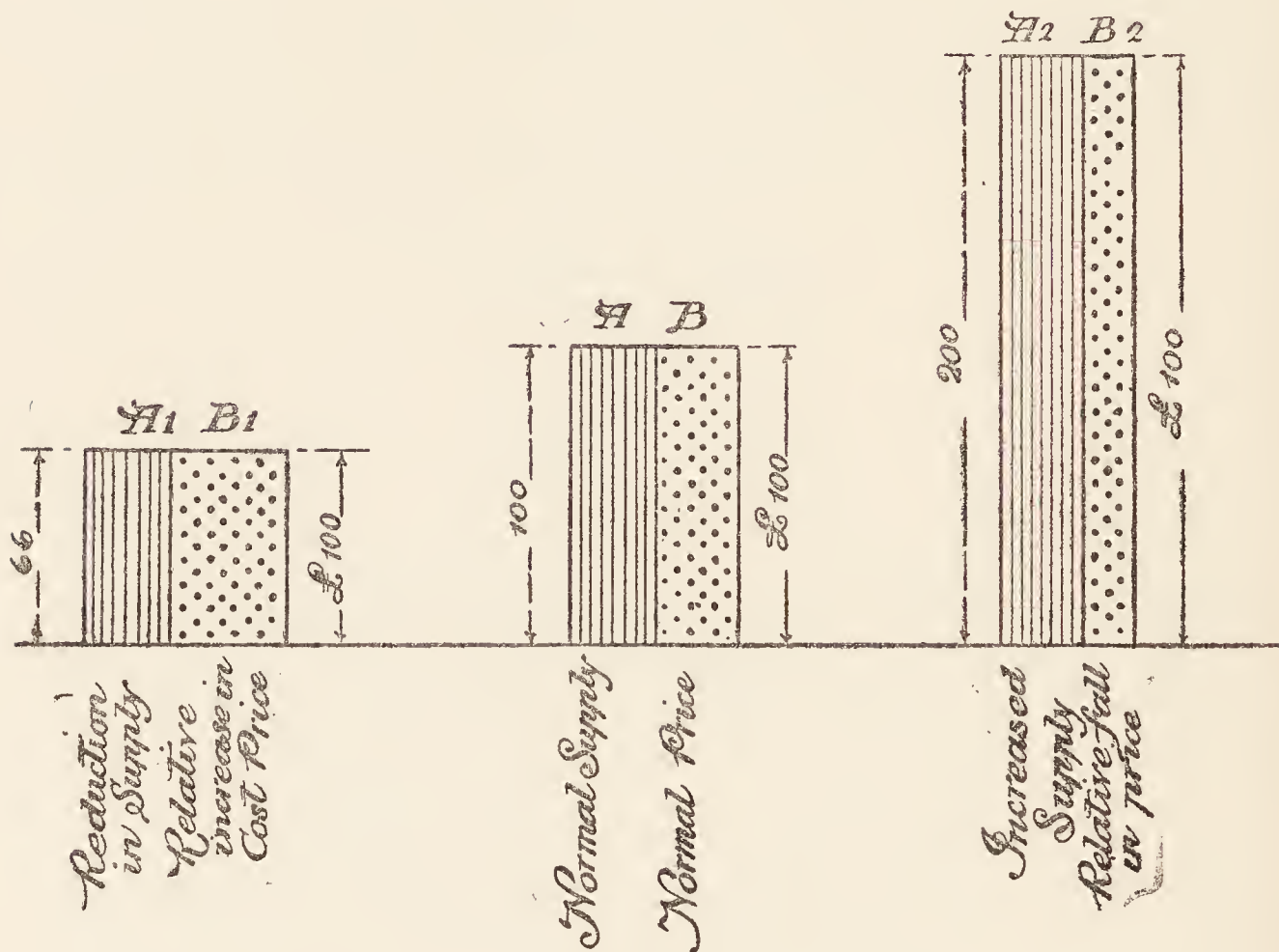
THE next diagram, presented upon the adjoining page, explains the difference between the price paid by the user and the price received by the producer. The operations of movement, the maintenance of the retailer who stocks in bulk and variety for the customer's accommodation, his compensation for wastage, etc., the cost of the operations B and F, also the cost of the provisions E and D, together make the difference between the retail price and the wholesale, or producer's, price. They also fix the *limit* of this difference. Any increase upon these just charges is an exploitation which should cause the distributing guild to take away the man's licence. Unless the improvements in production are reflected in a fall of retail prices, the natural stimulus to improvement is gone. There should be a constant rivalry, fair and free, to cheapen production in all things that make up the machinery of life, since by this road comes wealth of leisure and beauty for a people.

Price is not to be manipulated for gain by throwing back the fish into the sea.



XXXIII

VARIATION IN THE PRICE OF A PARTICULAR THING



WE have seen that the "value" of a thing is fixed by the family-maintenance-cost of those who make it, and that this value is converted into "price" for sale purposes. When, from any cause over which workers have no control, the total output, per group, per day, is less than normal, then, since the worker's-maintenance will cost the same, the price of the output must be raised. Fewer things go out, but the same money must come in. Should the output, on the other hand, be larger, then the price of each article will be lowered.

Should a shortage of output arise through a smaller

demand, then, pending a readjustment of the workers, the guild funds should cover the deficiency, so that the individual workers and their families suffer no loss. The loss is to the industry as a whole.

In the diagram the two centre columns indicate the normal supply of goods (A) and the normal price (B)—£100 purchasing $100x$ amount of articles. The shorter left-hand column indicates a reduction in the output to the extent of $66x$ compared with $100x$. For this smaller output £100 must be charged. It is the family-maintenance of the workers. This higher price will act beneficially in reducing waste. The right-hand columns A 2 indicate a cheapening of manufacture, bringing the output to $200x$, while the maintenance-cost of the workers will still be £100 as indicated by column B 2. Each article is cheaper for the public. In each case the public pays to the workers the "just price" of their maintenance. Ethics sovereign over Commerce!

In the sale and purchase of a thing so unique as a picture by Raphael, or a folio of Shakespeare's plays, where the demand for it is great and its real-cost is no factor, what is to determine the just price? In such a case the moral law would be fulfilled if the possessor were to offer such a unique possession to the nation at a price to be settled by disinterested arbitration. If the country does not purchase it the owner is free to sell it to whom he chooses and for as much as he chooses. There is always a way of spending wisely such a fortuitous gain. It is a legitimate windfall.

In cases where variations arise in the cost of production throughout the agricultural sphere, when through climatic conditions there may be a loss on one crop and a gain upon another crop, some machinery of adjustment is necessary, and should be supplied by the Agricultural Guild by way of insurance.

XXXIV

THE MEANING OF CAPITAL

Labour is the supreme Capital, and deserves much the higher consideration.
—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

CAPITAL has generally meant the raw material of life, or those instruments which aid man in the production of this raw material. In primitive days capital consisted of "heads" of cattle, *capita*; also flocks of sheep, *pecunia*. Later on pieces of money were used having the values of these forms of capital, one piece having the value of an ox, another piece the value of a sheep.

We should regard Capital as consisting of two parts, neither of which by itself is of any use to man. One is the human power to do; the other is nature. The power to do must have a medium and a motive. It must have something to overcome and something to bring about. Any measure of Capital must include its quantitative amount as well as its qualitative features.

Any national asset, then, will consist of these complementary elements: its land and contents, together with its human power. All useful machinery, tools, buildings, conveyances, are part of this Capital, since they are extensions of human power and aids to its employment.

Money is not Capital, nor is a railway ticket. Money merely transfers the products of Capital from A to B. Labour is not the antithesis to Capital; it is the supreme element of Capital.

Owing to a confusion of thought on this matter, money and anything which money can buy are considered to be Capital. Under this misapprehension the organ of industry is held to contain three factors—Capital, Management, and Labour. Upon this fiction is laid the argument

that, since management and labour take each its share of the industrial output, Capital should take a third share. On no sounder basis than this fiction is founded the claim of money to a rent or interest. Strenuous efforts are being made to reconcile these three "interests" by introducing a profit-sharing system. As well might one attempt to reconcile the man in the moon with one's next-door neighbour as this fiction with reality.

Capital is thus the reserve effort or surplus material built up or produced to-day for the uses of the morrow.

XXXV

THE FUNCTION OF BANKS

BANKS were originally the licensed "pawnbroking" establishments of the Jews, who combined money-lending with their more proper trade of apothecaries, as may be seen by the sign of the three balls, or pills, over the banking-houses in Lombard Street. This illicit business the apothecaries were allowed to do on payment of heavy tolls to the King. These Jew bankers amassed money, and lent it. The modern banker acts as a treasurer of other people's money, which he lends for a personal gain. The business is entirely speculative and very remunerative, but not good business for the nation, since it destroys the basis upon which alone a national commerce can prosper.

The business of a bank consists in banking the funds periodically paid by all workers against future calls, by way of an insurance against loss, fire, illness, unemployment, old age, etc. In a later chapter we explain how these large funds will be temporarily used, as advances for new enterprises. The payment for this financial

administration and operation would be upon the same basis as payment for any other service, and to the exclusion of all "gain." Every Guild would have its own banking establishment.

The Italian Banco di Santo Spirito, one of the oldest banks in the world, allowed no interest to be paid upon deposits, but charged a fee for safe custody. After working expenses were met, any gain was handed over to a philanthropic institution.

XXXVI

CREDITS AND LOANS—THE JUST SETTLEMENT POINT

In the realm of Finance there are three distinct kinds of transaction :—

1. The purchase of things by money.
2. The purchase of money by things.
3. The loan and repayment of (*a*) things and (*b*) money in time transactions; the payment of money in pensions. (This includes all periodic payments; *things* including services and goods.)

These three transactions create three categories, expressed in the following terms :—

1. Money-purchasing-power of commodities.
2. Commodities-purchasing-power of money.
3. Debt-paying-power of money, or debt-paying-power of things.

Incidental to these three operations of finance, variations occur within the sphere of each of the three categories. Any variation in the first causes a variation to occur in the second and third categories. Any variation in the second causes a variation to occur in the first and third.

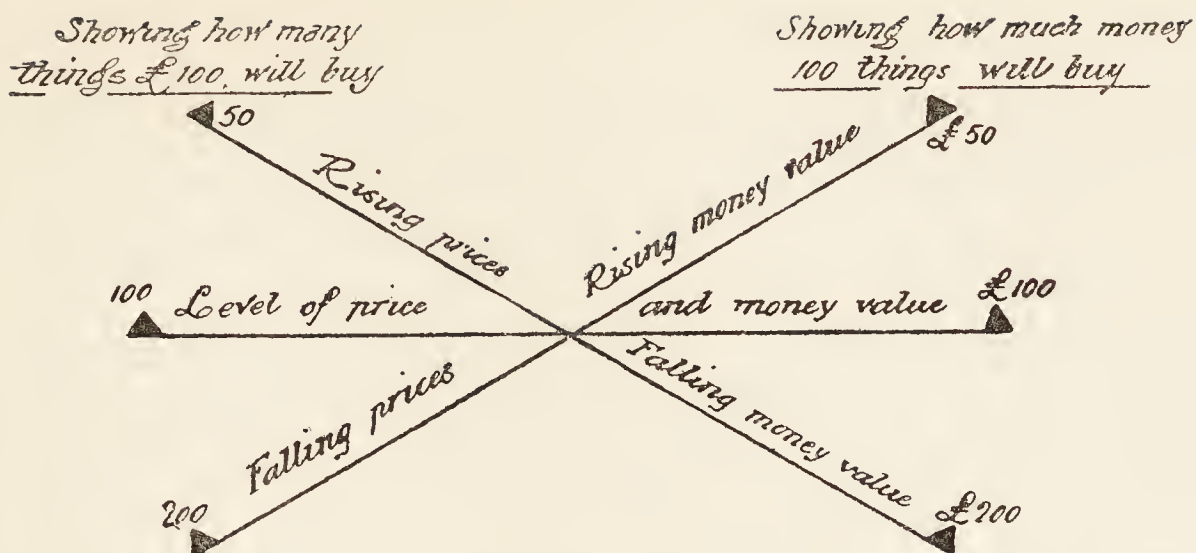


FIG. 1.—Illustrating the reciprocal and inverse variations of Commodity-prices and Money-value.

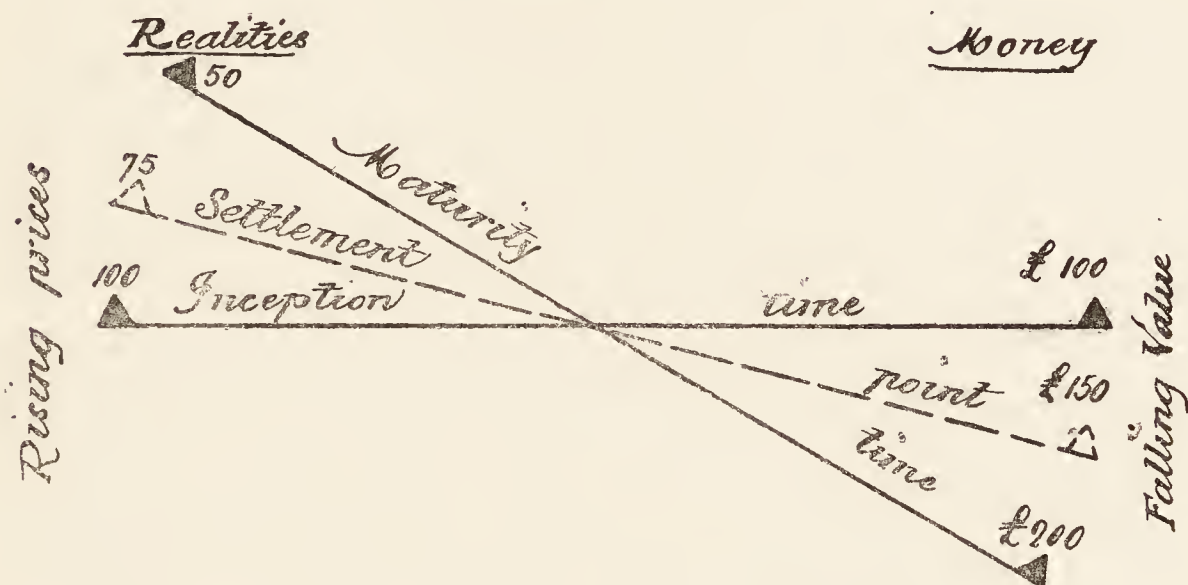


FIG. 2.—Illustrating the Settlement-point, or Equation of Exchange in period of Rising prices: Scarcity of things: Cheap money.

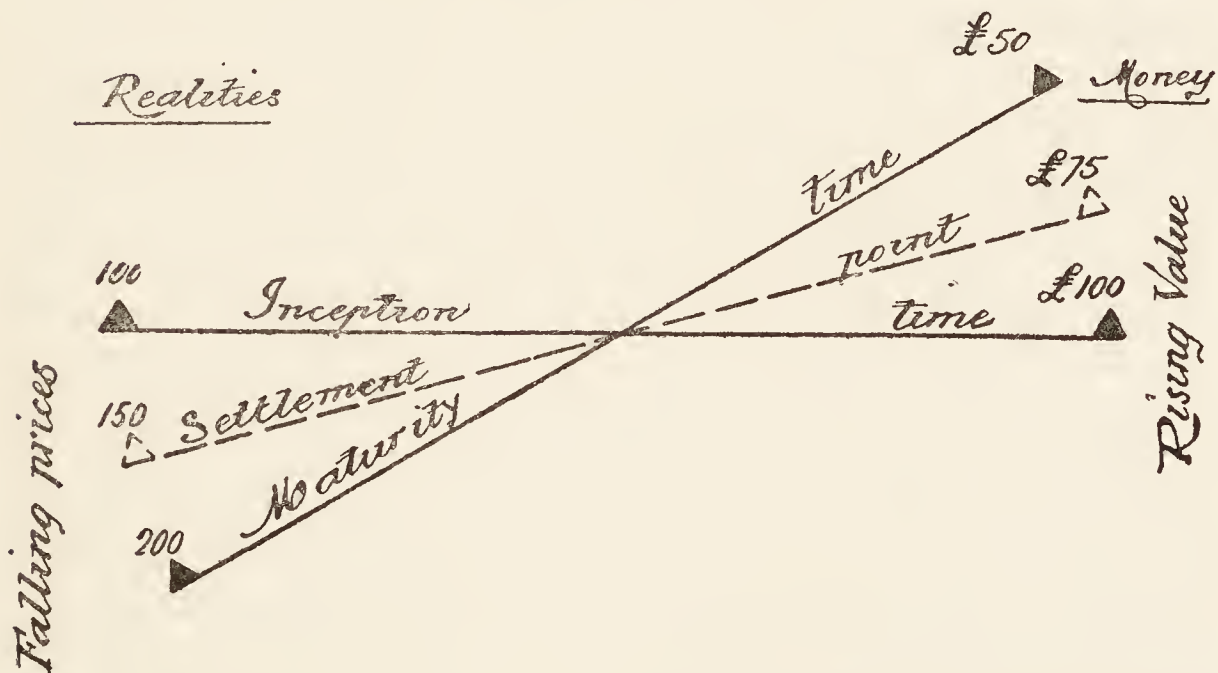


FIG. 3.—Illustrating the Settlement-point, or Equation of Exchange in period of Falling prices: Abundance of things: Dear money.

Hence the debt-paying-power of money should be adjusted to the variation in (a) the money-purchasing-power of commodities and in (b) the commodities-purchasing-power of money.

Credit means Belief. We give credit to a man because of our belief in his honour, and in his ability to pay at some future period. This belief is the true bond between Creditor and Debtor.

As considerable work must be done before the fruits of work are harvested, credit must enter largely into all human affairs. This credit is provided by those with whom the reserve, or surplus, of the previous harvest is funded. We have referred to the periodic payments made by all guildsmen to their Guilds. It will be one of the functions of these Guilds, through the Guild banks, to furnish Credit when required by their members.

The present banking system of credit is not based upon the social function of the Debtor but upon the speculative credit of a section of the community, and it is on that account not a wholesome business. The credit or creditable business we are dealing with is that true credit required by various groups, or individuals, who are fulfilling some social service wherein the fruit of labour cannot be gathered until a considerable amount of work has been done by the worker who requires sustenance from day to day. There is, first, the prime root-credit-transaction between man and nature. This underlies, determines, and affects every economic transaction between man and man. The farmer lends both his reserve corn-seed and his labour to Nature for a season. If all goes well, in course of time Nature brings forth for her co-partner and creditor an hundredfold. This working partner—Nature—creates more than the man has sown. This bounty, as we have seen, the farmer shares with all other members of the community who by their work enable him to do his. Nature, however, sometimes brings a scarcity in place of her abundance. This variation can neither be controlled

nor foreknown by the husbandman. In all human affairs we are subject to planetary laws. To exclude consideration of them in our transactions one with another is to deny the universe, and to weight others with hardships which should be borne equally by all. In cash transactions all circumstances are known to each party at the time. But in credit transactions the elements of Time and Space enter, and no man has power over these. Here something happens, by the result of which we must abide. We cannot contract out of this Law of God. But we can minimize hardships when they come by sharing the losses; just as in favourable times we all desire to share the benefits.

In every credit transaction we have to regard the physical side as well as the speculative side. We must think in terms of things—realities, as well as in terms of (monetary) tokens—speculæ. The physical element is the dominant; the speculative element is its reflection.

The amount of stuff which is bought or sold in advance of a payment for the same is a fixed amount, whereas the “price” of this stuff may vary between (a) the purchase or sale and (b) the payment for it. Consequently, the fact of this variation must be taken into account at the time of settlement. We will illustrate this by taking an example.

Some one borrows or obtains credit for £200 to enable him to purchase wheat. At the time of the loan the price of wheat is forty shillings a quarter; at the time of repayment the price has fallen, say, to twenty shillings. Under our present *Competitive* monetary system the debtor pays, and the creditor receives, £200—the precise amount of money lent. Thus, while the Borrower, by his credit, was enabled to purchase 100 quarters with the £200, he now repays an amount sufficient to purchase 200 quarters—exactly double the original quantity of wheat. The lender is thus enabled to obtain double the amount of wheat, or of other

things which he would have purchased had he used the £200 instead of lending it. This advantage he gets in addition to his interest upon the loan. It is a pure and unforeseen *gain*. Had the price risen instead of having fallen, the Debtor would have made a gain by having to sell only half the amount of wheat or goods which he anticipated having to do in order to obtain the £200 for repayment, while the Lender would receive back a sum of money having only half the purchasing-power it had when he lent it. Thus the latter becomes a heavy loser from quite unforeseen circumstances.

Under the old *Co-operative* monetary system which once ruled in England, this gain to the one and this loss to the other would have been shared between the two partners to the transaction. Thus, the Borrower, who would get a smaller sum of money for his goods at the time of repayment, through the fall in prices, would settle the loan by a payment of £150 instead of £200. The Lender would even then make a gain, in receiving back a sum which would purchase for him in wheat or goods a quantity half as much again as he could have purchased had he laid out the money instead of lending it.

A further example: A miller buys 100 quarters of wheat at forty shillings per quarter, and obtains Credit from the Merchant for £200. When the time for payment arrives the price of wheat has gone up, say, to eighty shillings per quarter. But under our present competitive monetary system £200 is all that the Debtor has to pay—the debt being monetarily *fixed*, notwithstanding the variation in the price of realities, or in the reality-purchasing-power of money. The Debtor in this case will have gained an unmerited advantage. For, while he anticipated having to sell 100 quarters of wheat wherewith to pay off his debt of £200, he now finds that, owing to the higher price of wheat, he has to sell only 50 quarters instead of the 100 quarters—a gain

of 50 quarters. The Creditor, on the other hand, suffers an unforeseen loss through having postponed the payment for the wheat he sold. Had he received the £200 at the time of the sale he would have been able to expend it for stocking his wheat supplies, and would have got 100 quarters of wheat for this £200. But when he gets this deferred payment he can obtain only 50 quarters with the same money—this being a loss of 50 quarters. What the one gains, the other loses.

Under the old Co-operative monetary system, each party shared the gains and losses incidental to Time transactions, into which contracts, the seasonal variations, and vicissitudes enter. In the case of a scarcity arising, taking the figures in the above example, instead of the Creditor receiving only £200 as repayment, he would receive £300, which would give him a loss only of 25 quarters of wheat at eighty shillings per quarter; the Debtor, in selling 100 quarters, which he anticipated having to do to repay his loan, will get £400, so that he will still make a gain, although paying his Lender £300 instead of £200. Had the price fallen to twenty shillings he would have to pay back only £150, for he would, in selling 100 quarters, get only £100—a loss which the Creditor would share with him. This he could well do, because at the time the Creditor receives the £150 money has a higher purchasing-power. He can now purchase 150 quarters of wheat instead of the 100, which is the amount he would have obtained had he expended the proceeds of his sale at the time of that sale.

The settlement-point under the two systems we set out thus:—

I.—The *Competitive* monetary system with its *constant single Monetary standard*.

Commodity and Monetary SETTLEMENT-POINT.

- (a) 100 qrs. Wheat at 40s. per qr. = £200 = The Loan.
 (b) 50 " " " 80s. " " = £200 = The Settlement Point.
 (c) 200 " " " 20s. " " = £200 = " " "

Applying the Formula to (4) above it would figure thus:—

$$\frac{2,000s. + 4,000s.}{2} = 3,000s. \text{ or } £150$$

Upon this equitable principle the Church Tithes are paid; and in the tenure of land under the Irish Land Act of 1881 special provision is made for dealing with the physical variations occurring in the realm of Nature.

A perusal of these tables makes certain facts clear.

In the first table we see that, so soon as there is an abundance causing prices to fall from 40s. to 20s., those responsible for the production, being the Borrowers and Debtors, under our present system at once suffer a loss in having to repay 200 quarters of wheat, or the sale price of that, instead of 100 quarters—the loan amount. Thus an abundance, which is so beneficial to the community, actually becomes a source of injury to those who bring it about. Hence the producers, finding a loss in abundance and in low prices, throw the fish back into the sea. They make a positive gain during a scarcity. Thus the interest of the producer is opposed to the interest of the consumer; the interest of the employer to the interest of the employee; the interest of the Creditor opposed to the interest of the Debtor; co-partnership being impossible until we adopt the old British method of settlement.

In the diagram we see one end of the see-saw represents the realities, the other end the reflections—money. On each end sits a group of men struggling to keep its own end in the desired position: here, to keep the price-end up and the money-value-end down; there, to keep the price-end down and the money-value-end up.

Under the British Co-operative monetary - system, thrown on one side by the lawyers in the reign of Charles II, for the *forced* debt-paying-power of money, each party—financier and producer—was a Co-partner.

In times of abundance every one would benefit; in times of scarcity every one would share it. This unity of interest helped to keep prices stable, while the common benefit stimulated to abundance.

All Rents, Interest, Salaries, Wages, Pensions, Annuities, every periodic payment, requires this periodic adjustment. Further, all existing loans to the State and other public and private bodies should be subject to this equitable settlement.

In all Time settlements, unless the contracting parties choose to take a particular article in which they are dealing, it will be usual to take the Official Price Current, embracing the forty-five staple commodities, as in the Board of Trade Index number, this number being the common Regulator for all settlements where a particular article has not been chosen.

In Figs. 1 and 2 of the diagram are shown the see-saw variants in both Realities and Money. At one end we see the quantity of things which a given sum of money will buy; at the other end the sum of money which a given quantity of things will fetch. When Commodity-prices fall, then will the purchasing-power of Money rise. The price-level of Bonds bearing fixed rates of interest will vary up and down as the Reality-purchasing-power of money moves up and down. Shares yielding variable rates of interest, on the other hand, will move up and down as the price of things goes up and down. As Shares rise, Consols fall. The terms "rise" and "fall" imply a Standard Price-level. This price-level occurred in 1896, when the price of £100 Consols was £100 in the open market.

To understand the action of variations arising from operations over which man can exercise little, if any, control, is to understand the national danger of the policy which fixes the Debt-paying-power of Money in the presence of these two varying elements—dangers arising from the conflicts it engenders between parties upon

whose goodwill we all depend. No mere council-table alliance can be effective in the presence of a financial system which generates opposing interests.

In the matter of Mortgages the greater consideration should be given to the Borrower, who is converting a passive asset—his uncultivated land—into an active asset and thus benefiting the Community. But the lawyers have here again so framed the laws as to give the Lenders the power of oppressing the real makers of the commonwealth. The unforeseen contingencies which the Borrower, Mortgagor, or Tenant has to face should be considered in arriving at an equitable settlement, season by season; the losses and the gains being *shared* between the two Co-partners in the transaction.

During the necessary transition from a policy of Competition to a policy of complete Co-operation the system of "profit-sharing," so-called, should bridge the way. But there can be no permanence in a system which has at its root a custom now most undesirable because of the evils it engenders. Our objective in honest commerce is the elimination of gain as the first step to stability.

XXXVII

EXCHANGES BETWEEN FIELD-STUFFS, FACTORY-STUFFS, AND SERVICES

LET us think of the community as composed of three groups of specialized workers: 1. Those extracting from the earth its foodstuffs and raw materials; 2. Those producing out of these raw materials, sundry goods, buildings, implements, etc.; 3. Those providing the various services of movement, teaching, government, etc. Each group will require, in addition to its own output,

some part of the output of the other two groups. The mutual distribution of these diverse products of work will be effected in part by purchases, in part by exchanges. The *surplus* output of each group will pass over to the other two groups in exchange for, or purchase of, the *surplus* of their output. As skill and machinery are introduced, each group will turn out a larger quantity and a higher quality of product. This larger and better product will be turned out upon the same food consumption; consequently, a larger quantity and higher quality of foodstuff, goods, and services will pass from group to group, thus raising the standard of living for all. But there may be more mouths to be fed, more feet to be shod, and more minds to be taught. This will absorb a part of the increase of wealth due to increase of skill. If, however, the survival rate of the population increases faster than the increase of field-stuffs, factory-stuffs, and services, each group will have a smaller *surplus* to distribute. This reduction of output, in relation to the whole population, will lower the national standard of living. The only way, under these circumstances, by which the standard can be maintained will be by making the machine run at a quicker pace to produce factory-stuff, which will be taken by people living under more genial skies in payment for foodstuffs to feed the larger population. We have shown that, if this foreign food is sold in competition with the home food, it must in course of time ruin the agriculture.

It may be that cheap goods as well as cheap food will be imported; this will inevitably throw out of employment many of our producers of goods. In both cases the imported food-stuffs and goods, though cheaper for the individual, must in any case be dear for the country. And until it is recognized that Citizens and State are really partners there will be no restraint upon this unwise competition between two countries whose climatic conditions are so different that there can be no free trade

between them, since the food-cost of living varies with climate.

XXXVIII

SHOP AND FACTORY

IN the production and distribution of goods the shop and the factory are the chief factors, and these are ever becoming larger and more powerful, compared with the home production of field-stuffs. What the factory makes the shop stocks, and the public buys. Manufacturer and distributor in this way exercise a great influence upon the public taste. This taste is easily raised or lowered by the standard of quality prevailing in the shop and factory. This matter of taste is not a small matter, nor is it merely an economic matter. As man is built, the exercise of a good or a bad taste affects the moral character, spiritual composure, dignity of mien, and respect both for oneself and for others. To have a thing less well made and less pleasing than it may be is degrading to the maker, the seller, and the user.

This is now being recognized after we have touched bottom in things ill-made and unbeautiful: a special course of instruction being available for manufacturers and distributors. By a short course of technical training the manufacturer and shop assistant may learn the quality and characteristics of the different materials they deal with, the best way of using these materials, and the sound processes of manufacture. In the matter of decoration, even for the application of elemental beauty in form and colour, some education of the taste is necessary. Almost everything we use in the home comes from the shop. The purchaser seldom knows anything of the quality of materials, or of the processes to which materials have

been submitted in manufacture, and is innocent of the tricks of adulteration. The salesman should be in a position to guide the judgment and taste of his customer, and so protect him against imposture and defective workmanship. The public would respond to this intelligent and disinterested advocacy of the better thing, and the manufacturer might again take a pride in the quality of his output. Only by recognition of this duty arising out of their function will these pursuits become honourable, a trader no longer being a "traditor" or deceiver. Industrial pursuits may even become instruments of education—first aids to the art of living—when their motive is the production of the best possible; they are then linked with the work of the artist and teacher. But the golden rule of work is that that work alone is in any true sense good which is done with a motive that is the artist's, and in a manner that is his.

XXXIX

THE TOWNSMAN AND THE COUNTRYMAN

THOSE who produce the food must live and work in the open country, while those who work in groups and produce in mass by machinery must live in towns that for some generations will be densely populated. In the pre-factory days the lot of the agriculturist was much the same as that of the craftsman who produced the things which furnished the home, for the former had also his craft by which he supplemented his income. In every farmhouse the clothing of the family was woven by the women, the furniture was made by the farmer; and all his implements and harness he repaired in the winter months. The factory robbed the man of his loom, his wife of her

distaff, the girls of their spinning wheel—all of their crafts. The farmer and his family were forced to an impoverishing idleness in the winter, while the factory owner was piling up riches and bribing his “hands” to multiply. The State, then regarded merely as a power to stop any interference with the “natural rights” of a man to gather riches in any way he pleased, gave no protection either to agriculture or to those who were forced into the factories from the fields. The craftsmen of the country lost their crafts; while the farmer, having to pay increasing rents, taxes, and interest, was forced to sell his produce in competition with similar produce coming off lands practically free of rent, rate, tax, and interest. Both country folk and town folk soon became slaves to mass production by automatic machines. Attracted by the flare of a false beacon upon the horizon which was mistaken for the sun of a new day for civilization, man lost his bearings, and for a season the barque of civilization lay stranded upon the arid shoals. We await the flood of a new tide which, fortunately, is on the flow. The general awakening of the social conscience has given rise to movements for the revival of handicrafts, for State help for agriculture, the control of imports, the control of births, the welfare work in factories—signs of the incoming tide that may again carry civilization into the midstream of human evolution.

There will always be Towns, and there must always be the Country. It becomes one of the most important duties of the State, which is the collective interest, to safeguard occupations which can best be carried on or only carried on in the country. Our home food supply under the present abnormal conditions depends upon this protection. Apart from considerations of health, we have to consider the influence of the countryside—first, upon the character of man’s work; secondly, upon the character of his ideals. The work which man has pleasure in doing and does best—indeed, all the work most worth doing—

must either be done by men living in the country in close touch with Nature, or by men who can spend much of their leisure in the country. Further, companionship with the elemental forces of Nature deepens the emotions, exalts the spirit, making it less possible for man to harbour sordid aims. The spirit of Nature whispers these her secrets: "To be is of more absorbing interest than to have"; "The generous life is not a matter of possessions, but of powers."

The claims of the Countryman upon the power of his partner—the State—are great; great also are these claims upon the interest of the Townsman, who has to pay so heavily and grievously for the loss of the countryside, and for the inability of the country to feed him. Life in town and in country for the common folk of to-day is a miserable affair; it is a blot upon the page of civilization. The first step towards raising the standard of living is the payment of the just price for the home-grown wheat.

XL

THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF THE INDIVIDUAL

THE extreme variations of economic welfare among members of the commonwealth to-day belong to a passing phase whose cause has been referred to in the last chapter. These extremes are not part of the natural order of social evolution, nor do they conduce to harmony. Differences of character and ability in human beings are part of the natural order, beneficial to social evolution and essential elements of harmony. The economic variations we are familiar with to-day, even when not extreme, are not beneficial variations, since they are in no way related to the varying importance of the work done by the individual, nor to the varying needs of the several

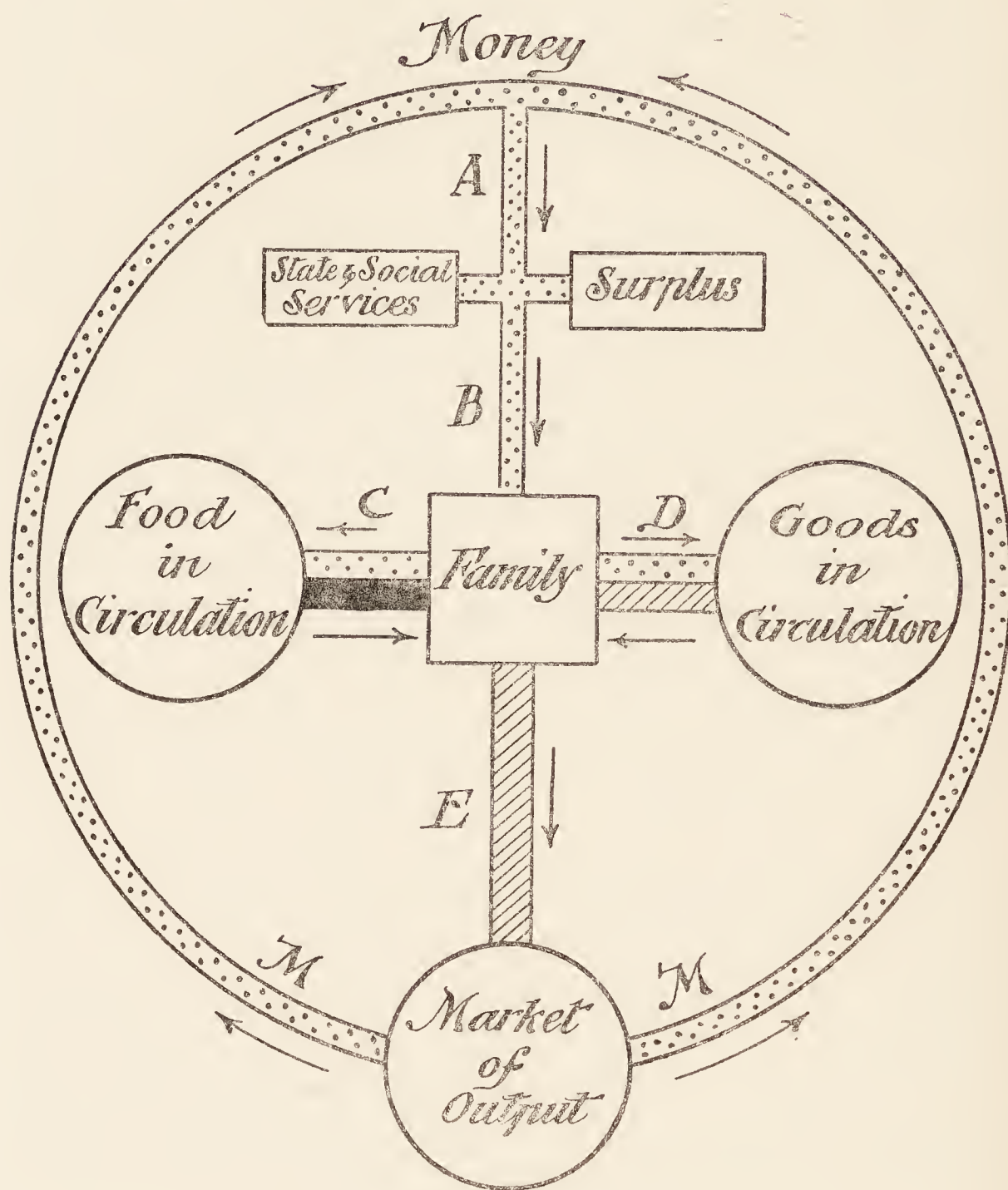
occupations pursued. At one end of the scale we see persons whose life is a pastime, their activities a sport, their claim upon the work of others so exorbitant that they must needs lend what they cannot consume of its taxed proceeds. At the other end of the scale are persons doing work of the greatest importance to their country who have daily to measure their crust before eating it. This inequality is very disastrous to civilization. It results not from liberty, but from license in our traffic one with another: here a closing of the hand to grasp the utmost one can grasp, and there an opening of the palm to give all one has to give in service for others.

Under a system which will restrain license at a point where it impinges upon the freedom of others, what will be the economic position of citizens? First, since the freedom to be idle will be eliminated, there will be more adults making some kind of contribution to the common wealth, and more good things to go round. Poverty should then result only from vicious conduct. But the real improvement will arise from the individual interest and emulation being transferred from the quantity of one's getting to the quality of one's doing; and, as a consequence, work will take on a very different complexion. Every one will have a real incentive to do his best—the incentive so natural to the artist and the craftsman. In a word, far more beautiful work will be done by the mass of workers, and done with a joy in the heart. Every one will be better off, while he who is now either millionaire or pauper will again be made happy and human. Taken all round, we may safely rely upon man's natural desire to do his best in whatever interests him; and to rely upon any other motive than this is to court disaster for man and mankind.

When every income is limited to what is required for life's needs there can be no saving. Upon retirement every individual will then quite properly rely upon the ample pension for his economic security.

XLI

INCOME AND OUTPUT OF THE FAMILY



THE Family is the social unit; the male parent is its economic instrument—the bread-winner. What he gathers he gathers for the family, just as in what he does he does for the community. The workers' cycle of intake and output can be properly understood only when regarded from this all-embracing collective point of view. For, in

the matter of intake or income, the bread-winner is Steward of the family economy; in the matter of output, or work, he is a servant of the Community. His personal happiness ultimately depends upon the fulfilment of his two obligations—the one to his family, the other to his country. For a country can have only that which it makes. We have seen that there should be a balance, in terms of money, between cost of maintenance and income, the biologic profit constituting his surplus for the year. Thus a man's selling-power and his purchasing-power should be equal; every man working as he must, that he may live as he should.

The diagram shows the family as the central organ in the economic sphere. Through its male parent it sends out its special work-product into the market, where it is converted into money. This money (A) comes in as Income to the Family. A portion is allocated (1) for State and other Communal services; a portion (2) for a surplus, which is funded with the worker's guild or society. The entire balance should be expended in obtaining foodstuffs for sustenance (C), and in obtaining such goods and services (D) as may be necessary for the domestic and occupational equipment, including all developmental purposes. At the end of the occupational life comes to every one the pension, as with the army and navy. No other provision has to be made than what is included in the above items. Noble expenditure; no ignoble saving.

The Wealth which results from each person working with relation to all, science makes more easy in its creation, wisdom makes more fair in its distribution, art more wide and rich in our personal enjoyment of it, which enjoyment is the end of all industry. The quality of personal enjoyment largely depends upon the effect which our enjoyment will produce upon our contemporaries.

XLII

THE INDIVIDUAL IN RELATION TO THE RACE

The one supreme hegemonic faculty which constitutes the essential "nature" of man holds up the ideal of the supreme good, and demands absolute submission of the will to its behests. It is this which commands all men to love one another, to return good for evil, to regard one another as fellow citizens of one great state. —T. H. HUXLEY.

THE rules by which an individual should regulate his life so that its trend shall be one with the world-life, one with the universal process, would be incomplete did they not include the rule laid upon him by the claims of the race to which he is both heir and parent. We have seen that the race is the result of a long process of development, partly effected before the birth of the individual; that each person is responsible for carrying on the great tradition, so that by no selfish indolence or neglect of control over powers and instincts may the growing beauty of the type be marred. Each parent is under a moral obligation to refrain from consciously transmitting to the race qualities positively bad or negatively good. Progress demands that we transmit something more than we have received. By the power of the "ideal" we may see the individual, in the future, making his demand upon us that we rob him neither of the power nor of the means of living an efficient, beautiful, and glad life. The varied powers we proudly possess are an inheritance from forebears who have lived their lives among a people of divergent personalities. The varied emotional enjoyments which are ours we could not experience were it not for our spiritual association with this past. Our personal debt to the collective life of the past is enormous; our debt to the collective life of the present is also great. To repay this indebtedness is beyond our power. The most, and the least, that we can do in return

is to play our part fairly by using our abilities in the service of our fellows—that is, in doing good work honestly, and in preserving for the future the inheritance of the good we have received. Further, the enjoyment of our social and material inheritance lays upon our generation the obligation to transmit to the next generation an undiminished store of power, wealth, and beauty, leaving those parts of the earth we have used at least as beautiful as when we received them. Nor should we lay a toll upon the fruit of our children's labour by contracting perpetual interest-bearing loans. We must ourselves pay the debts we incur—and, indeed, we do pay them in reality, though we leave behind a fiction of indebtedness which is treated as an actual debt.

Each instinct and each power implanted within the soil of human nature has its moral use and its immoral use. In its control and use for social ends we find its moral use. To lack this control by bringing to the birth more mouths than can be fed, or types that from birth will be poisoned or defective, is to sin against the race. Nor are we only the builders of the race; we are the builders of its environment. Not only must we care for the health and beauty of our own bodies; we must care for the health and beauty of the bodies we beget. Here, by nature's gift of intelligence, we may all be good craftsmen.

For most of us, however, the welfare of the race is too remote to grip the heart. Religion steps in to provide a motive sufficiently impelling for a type of conduct that shall help the improved future to arrive as an heirloom for our children. At the same time it teaches us how to develop our powers and passions, without injury to our best self, and without injury to the best self of others, born and unborn.

XLIII

READJUSTMENT OF THE COMMON WEALTH DISTRIBUTION

Fig I. Objective Situation. Fig Ia.

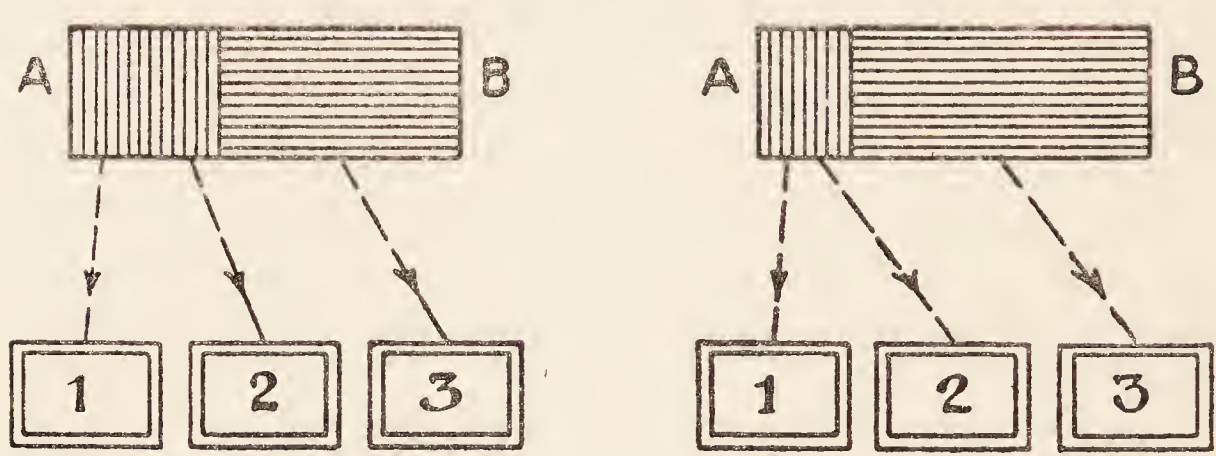
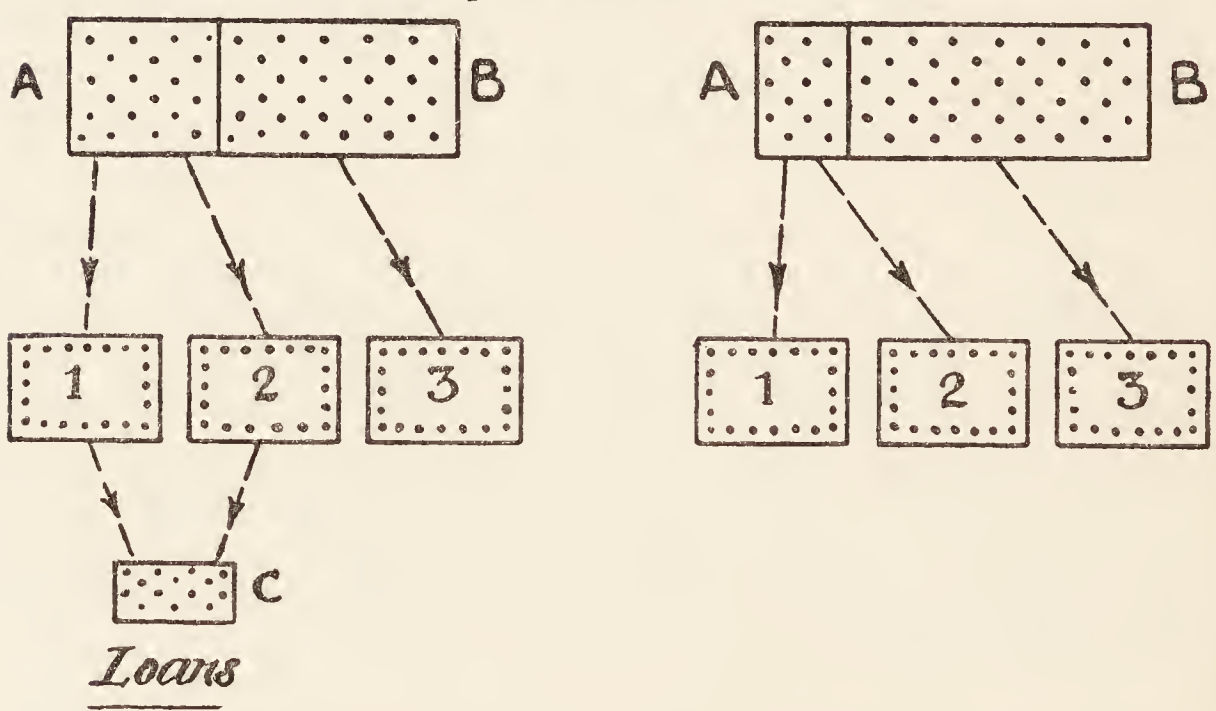


Fig II. Monetary Situation. Fig IIa.



VARIOUS influences are at work resulting in a general demand for a more just apportionment of the common

output. Too many possess what they cannot enjoy ; too many could enjoy what they do not possess. A readjustment is necessary—a readjustment that should be gradual, and one which, while it will make life richer and fuller for those who will receive more, will in no way make life less rich and full for those who will give up something. There must be justice not for one set only, but justice for all and a gain for all. Possessions are possessions in the true sense only in so far as they can be advantageously used by the possessor. A violin is not a possession to one who cannot play it. Time and culture must combine to make the many more fit to enjoy the choicer gifts of civilization. But the social conscience demands that the common folk should receive a larger share of the good things such as they can already make good use of. Having more of the good things that their faculty of enjoyment can appreciate, more of the better things will soon be their portion. There can be no readjustment without some sacrifice ; but as the faculty of enjoyment appreciates, taste will ask for the few better things, and such sacrifice as may have to be made by the rich will be willingly made, since their good taste will compel it. In the past hereditary wealth created a monopoly of culture. But wealth has now overshot the mark ; through possessing too much life has been robbed of its ideals, while culture has become sterile through mating with Mammon as equal partner.

We must follow the process of readjustment from the point of view of things—realities ; also from the point of view of their symbols—money. In Fig. I the total work-product of the nation ($A + B$) is apportioned between two groups into which the whole nation may be divided : (a) the group of investors, administrators, and mental workers ; (b) the group of manual workers. The squares placed below these two groups roughly indicate the relative proportions of the common product used as (1) dividend and (2) maintenance per head to the one group, and as (3) maintenance per head to the other group.

In Fig. Ia we see the readjustment which enables the manual worker to raise his standard of living by receiving a larger share (B); the investors and others receiving a smaller share, yet more than sufficient, it must be assumed, for their domestic and higher occupational needs. Fig. II indicates the same apportionment on the money side. The total money realized by the sale of the common work-product of the nation is indicated by $A + B$. A portion (A) is taken by the lenders of money, administrators, and mental workers in salary, fee, interest, and so-called "profit." This money is expended, in part, for the purchase of food, goods, and services as shown by A in Fig. I above. The balance of the money (C), not being needed for maintenance, remains as a claim upon the common stock of wealth earmarked as "surplus." These private claims are transferred, as a loan, to persons at home and abroad who purchase this "surplus" of realities remaining to the credit of the lenders. The money received by the operatives is wholly spent in realities for their maintenance (except such savings as are invested for purchase of homestead and other contingencies). Fig. IIa represents the readjustment in this sphere of money whereby a smaller sum out of the sale of stuff is taken by the investors, administrators, etc., while a larger sum is paid out to the operatives. We may suppose this readjustment to go on until the members of each group receive their domestic and occupational maintenance upon the same *terms*, any surplus being divisible between each according to the ratio of their maintenance-needs.

This betterment of the manual workers is thus brought about without increasing any one's toil, without raising the national food bill, and therefore without raising the cost of producing the wealth available for distribution. This is the only possible method by which the standard of living can be raised. Raising the standard of living means putting within reach of every citizen, first the

power, and secondly the opportunity, of using those fruits of our collective effort that make for development, and thus aid each to become what each is capable of becoming. A better education, more informative literature, saner recreation—these must be the first things; and these got and made use of, all other desirable things will follow. As soon as man's instinctive craving for things of beauty is reawakened by the possibility of his having them, and as soon as competition for the means of life gives place to an emulation to supply the best means of life, the whole economic situation will be changed. Who would need to toil? Who would choose to be idle?

As this readjustment begins to take place in the distribution of the common output three great and significant changes will be brought about. 1. Those incomes which to-day are wholly unrelated to functional needs and responsibilities will gradually be related to these—that is, the right to enjoy will be linked with the will to contribute, as has been customary in the older professions and crafts. 2. Every worker will do better work and take an interest in what he does through personally experiencing the fact that as he sows so will he reap. To regain this interest in what one does is the first step towards prosperity for a nation and the surest incentive to personal uplift. 3. The rate of increase in the population will fall, partly as the result of a less strenuous struggle for physical survival, partly as a result of the experience that the increase of more mouths than the land can feed inevitably leads to some form of slavery and the lowering of a civilization which builds upon the average welfare.

The amelioration of the manual worker with this revival of interest in his work cannot be brought about by making him part-owner of the so-called "capital" invested in the industry. This is equivalent to inducing him to make a soup out of his own tail. No other dividend is paid upon "capital" than stuff produced by labour. All dividends are therefore paid by labour.

Hence the creation of dividend-bearing "capital" is the creation of a perpetual toll upon the fruit of labour. For labour, then, to become an investor or self-taxer is an absurdity. As we have before said, directly we enter the field of "gains" we are in the presence of the game, Heads I win, tails you lose; since there can be no gain without a loss to the like amount by some one else.

XLIV

NATIONAL ADJUSTMENTS NECESSARY
THROUGH DIFFERING NATIONAL
STANDARDS OF LIVING

It is an ethical postulate that the distribution of wealth in a well-ordered State should aim at reaching political justice.

—PROF. SEDGWICK.

MEN must either co-operate or collide. And so long as gains are customary—that is, so long as a man may take from the national output more than he requires as citizen and worker—there will be unrestrained competition among those who exact these gains from the labour they employ. They will employ those men who will work upon the smallest amount of food, clothing, etc., for only so can a gain be taken from their output. This leads to collision. When the workers of our own country will not submit to inadequate maintenance the industry will be transferred by the profiteers to a foreign country—to a people whose climate permits them to live upon a simple dietary. The rice eater will thus oust the bread and beef eater.

Against this inequitable system some protection is needed. The State should restrain the immigration of

manual workers from the coloured races, and prohibit the free import of the products of coloured peoples until such time as gains are not customary, when unemployment will disappear and competition be no longer feared. For when all payment is merely a matter of maintenance proper to the occupational function the employment of a rice eater in a bread-eating nation will not, economically, be a disturbing element nor one necessarily adverse to its civilization. Moreover, since no gain could be made through the payment of a lower wage, no alien would be employed unless for his higher efficiency in some special work; nor will he settle here in any numbers if he cannot take a saving back to his country. Similar conditions of outward life and similar terms of work throughout a nation are the best safeguard against the invasion of a lower type, besides being favourable to greater solidarity.

In the case of imports from countries able to produce things at a lower cost of human labour, the State should regulate this import by licences which would safeguard the liberties of the home industries. (See chap. lxxvii.)

XLV

RESTRAINT IN PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION

THE end of production is the satisfaction of man's need of things and his love of making things. For the satisfaction of needs the automatic power machine now gives such facilities by mass production that the supply of stuff may quickly outrun the demand. Restraint over such immense powers of production should be exercised, or markets will be forced, corners created, and false needs

stimulated, ruining the conscientious distributor and the more provident producer. Wherever we find machines running at top speed, warehouses loaded with machined products, and families insufficiently supplied with these products, we may be sure that selfish and inhuman motives have been at work. Such irrational production will beget a wasteful and cruel competition, ruining sound rivalry for excellence, and establishing monopolies for the sake of extortion.

The restraint which intelligence would impose should be directed, first, to some regulation of our vast power of mass production, and, secondly, to the regulation of the competitive system of distribution. The multiplication of shops beyond the number needed to supply a given district leads not only to adulteration of stuff and dishonest advertisement, but to every deceitful artifice by which another man's customer may be gained.

Such restraint may be wisely, and not wantonly, imposed through the Distributing Guild. Without a licence from such guild no retailer should be able to open a shop, and such licence would be granted only where a shop was needed and could trade without injury to any existing shop. We limit our beer shops and regulate this trade by licences, but we need to extend this impersonal regulation to all retail establishments. The public suffers loss and damage by the unnecessary multiplication of shops. The freedom of hundreds is restricted through the unregulated liberty of one.

The restraint in production that conduces to the general welfare is one that would reduce to a minimum the use of any process which excludes human interest in the work. Any real advance in human industry must in the nature of things make industry more human, more instrumental to the development of human nature—a development which results from the exercise of faculties and not from the possession of things. Till Shakespeare's day the advance was in an enlargement of interest, a

richer play of the faculties in the personal work that maintained the corporate life. In this direction is the future advance, not in the direction of mass production, as our fathers and grandfathers blindly believed. Welfare is a result of a personal development which enriches in all ways without sacrifice of individuality.

The production of things for the joy of making them and for the pleasure of using them will never outrun the demand for such. Nor will any external control be needed here. In the endeavour to make a thing in the best way it can be made, and in the pains taken to make it pleasing to look at, a craftsman must needs obey the law of restraint which rules all sound and beautiful handicraft. Other restraints he does not need. With regard to the commonplace things, when distribution is regulated by licence the production will regulate itself.

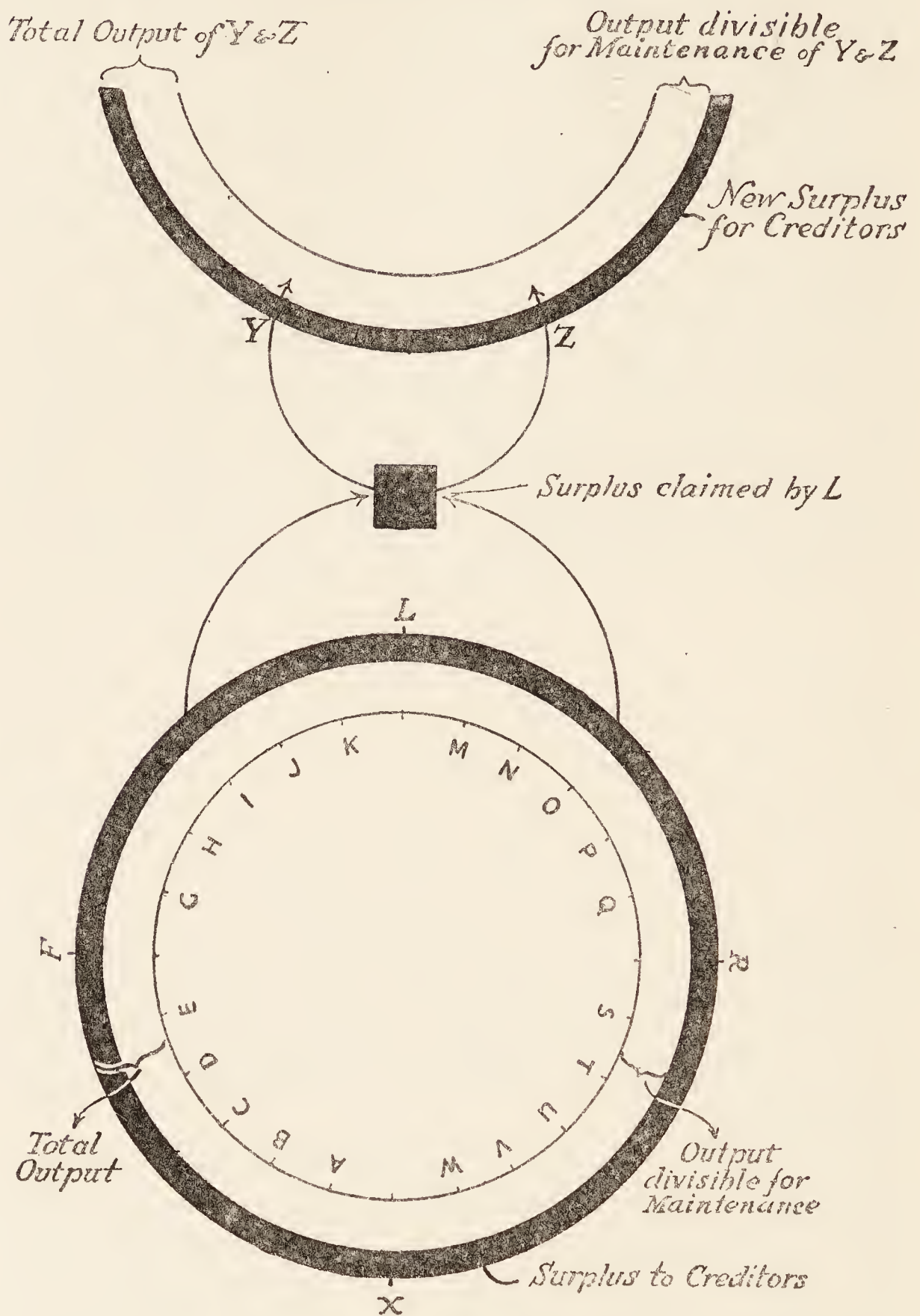
XLVI

INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE

FROM time to time some new enterprise will be ventured to satisfy some new need. A new enterprise cannot, however, be started unless there are men free for employment and capable of carrying to completion the new undertaking.

To-day such enterprises are undertaken as speculative ventures, and they are operated in such manner as shall yield a perpetual gain to the initiating speculators and their heirs. But such is not the way in which great undertakings were carried out in the past, nor is it the way in which they will be carried out in the future. That we may see why the present system is not sufficiently practical to survive as part of an intelligent organization

of human industry, it is necessary to explain and illustrate by a diagram the present speculative system.



We have explained that money which is to be lent or invested represents a legal claim upon the future national output. The holders of the money not requiring these

claims to be met for periodic maintenance, the claims upon goods are held back until persons are found who can use them. The holders then lend their money, claims, or credits: become creditors under a contract to receive from the borrowers so much each year in return for the loan. These sleeping creditors, or speculators, form a group with the acting administrators of the loan.

In the diagram let the letters A to Z represent the total workers in the community. The four letters, F L R X, will represent the administrators of the new enterprise, also the creditors or money-lenders. The whole community should be regarded as debtors to these speculators, though not actual borrowers from them—debtors they are because in their purchases each purchaser will hereafter indirectly pay some portion of the debt due to the speculative group. Every payment exacted for the loan of money gravitates down from the actual debtor till it reaches the bedrock of productive labour. The two circular spaces will together indicate the total annual output of the whole body of workers. The greater portion of this product—marked by the plain circular space—is used up in maintaining the families of the community. The produce remaining over is a Surplus, represented by the outer dark circular space. This surplus-product, like the maintenance-product, consists of a variety of realities, very few of which will keep indefinitely. They must be used. We may regard this surplus as the portion of the national output set apart to satisfy the claims of the creditor-group in respect of former loans. With this surplus of material set free for dividends upon interest-bearing-loans, there is also set free a certain number of workers, since a man produces more than he consumes, and improvements in mechanical facilities continually reduce the amount of human work needed for a given output of stuff. The workers thus set free are represented by Y and Z.

At the end of the annual cycle of work we have a

situation in which there is a surplus of stuff produced which must be used up ; also a surplus of workers who must find fresh employment. Were this not so there could be no fresh enterprise. The surplus stuff ear-marked to pay the claims of the creditor-group upon the labour engaged in the completed enterprise is again invested by these creditors in some further enterprise, and for this new loan additional scrip or shares are received by the creditor-group. The diagram indicates one such fresh enterprise administered by the speculative group L, and carried out by the reserve labour Y Z, who use the surplus stuff lent by L. These workers produce more than they are permitted to retain for their maintenance, which means that either this labour or the community pays a toll. This toll forms part of the new surplus of realities created by the new cycle of work. Every fresh cycle of work thus creates a new surplus, since every worker produces something more than his family keep, or we should still be living in caves, as did men of the Stone Age. This new surplus is claimed in part by the administrators and in part by the money-lenders as dividend. This dividend, being a claim upon the general output and not required for consumption by the claimant, is again invested in a fresh enterprise to be carried out by a fresh reserve of labour. So the cycle of speculative enterprise is repeated, with fresh gains to the creditor-group and fresh burdens of debt laid upon the producing-group of the community. Thus there will inevitably flow to F L R X by this snowball method of accumulation, at each cycle of loan and work, an ever-increasing claim upon the national surplus—a claim which the claimants find it impossible to utilize, and must needs pass on to breed out of its own substance, as Shakespeare has it.

Let us now follow the same operation under the more intelligent system of private co-operative enterprise. Let F L R X represent industrial guilds. The other letters will represent the workers of the community, each one of

whom is a guildsman. We have seen, in the chapter dealing with the elements of maintenance, that one item is the "surplus." This surplus is, in part, the surplus that work creates over and above the needs of upkeep; and in part it is the worker's share of the biologic profit. Money *representing* this surplus forms part of the wage and salary of every one, and is paid into the Guild Bank to be used against contingencies, for extension of business, pensions, etc. These moneys, representing realities already in existence and ready for use, the Guild Bank advances for new enterprises. If the enterprise be large, such as a new railway, two or more Guilds will contribute funds. A new enterprise can then be carried out by this co-operative system in a manner that will leave no permanent debt upon the nation or upon any group: one that will give permanent employment together with ownership and control of a new business to those who initiate and bring it into being; one that will levy no gain for an individual. A sound business, with no overhead charges for interest, etc., is soon able, out of its receipts, to repay all advances made by the Banks. In this way the several capital industries of the country will gradually own, control, and operate the various new enterprises. A railway will belong to all those working and maintaining it. Such *co-operative* ownership has within it the germs of stability and growth, the other system having the germs of instability and self-destruction. The snowball accumulation of private gains or claims upon the national produce has only to gather to a certain size, and it must crumble to snow-dust of its own enormity; the only alternative being that when all are "investors" every man's hand will take from one pocket what he puts into his other.

The transition from the competitive to the co-operative system will be slow, and well it should be slow. It will give time for the education of those who will be responsible for its efficient working. It will also give all present investors time to plan a mode of life within the limits of

fair dealing with the rest of the community, a terminable annuity purchasing their present expectancy.

XLVII

MACHINERY

Nothing makes the soul so pure, so religious, as the endeavour to create something perfect ; for God is perfection, and who ever strives for perfection strives for something that is godlike. —MICHAEL ANGELO.

THE progress of man has been largely aided by the tools which his skill and knowledge have enabled him to create. Science has also been a missionary of progress by putting within man's reach powers increasingly numerous, potent, and alluring. The immediate results obtained by the use of these tools and powers are so astonishing that we become enthralled to their power before we have time to realize either their stealing dominion over ourselves, or their withering effect upon our surroundings.

Let us above all things keep in mind the fact that man is not a finished article ; he is in process of being made a finished article. As beings conscious of this growth towards perfection, our first duty to ourselves, to the past that has brought us where we are, and to the future that we are carrying forward, is to keep unsullied such taste as we have acquired, and alert such powers as we have developed ; in a word, to maintain human character on the high plane it has reached. The above thought of Michael Angelo is the summed experience of a great doer. Any one of us who has done a decent day's work knows that there can be neither excellence nor earnestness of character unless one's work is such that it compel earnestness of purpose and invite excellence of

result. Not only must man get his bread by the sweat of his brow, he must also nourish his soul by the sweat of his brow ; body and soul toiling together in the process of any worthy creation.

In human nature there are two constant and equally compelling demands. One demand is of his physical nature that it be nourished ; the other demand is of his spiritual or æsthetic nature that it be satisfied. Fortunate is it that these two demands have not pulled man in opposite directions ; fortunate is it that in wholesome working for the satisfaction of the first demand man has found his surest satisfaction of the second and more important demand. Hence it has come about that art in its adolescence has been the glorification of those crafts by which man has fed, clothed, and sheltered his beautifully formed body.

To divest any necessary work of the emotional pleasure to be derived from its performance is always a loss, and possibly an injury. Even when the automatic power-machine may be set to work in relief of toil for the majority of men, giving them a larger leisure in which each may smoke his pipe in peace and quietness, the matter has still to be regarded from the wider point of view—the welfare of all. Mayhap the loss to the small section of the community will total more than the gain to the majority. If, however, it be well that certain necessary work should be done by automatic machines it is still possible, and certainly beneficial, to get these machines handled and controlled by paid volunteers working by short shifts as in emergency work ; so that no one should have to watch an automatic movement for more than two or three hours in the day. This would act as a compensating balance, giving the mechanic ample time in which to exercise those faculties which are under suppression during his mechanical operations in the factory. This, at the least, is the price the community should pay for such advantages as may be gained from

the use of the automatic machine in place of hand work. We have not to make a hard-and-fast regulation in this matter; we have but to be clear sighted enough to see things in their long perspective, and honest enough truly to balance the gains and losses in the scales of human happiness. We are so obsessed with the visible gains of this new tool that we are unmindful of the invisible losses we sustain through its unrestrained use. That the reader may take account of these—see them not as phantoms; make up his own balance-sheet of gain and loss—it is necessary to draw attention to the more serious losses.

When the automatic power machine was ready to be brought into general use “hands” were wanted. Men, women, and children were bribed from their countryside homes to herd around the factory in the town. To the higher wage in money promises were made that the worker would in time be relieved of his toil; their proprietors called machines “labour-saving” or “toil-saving.” We were assured that by making five hundred shirts where one was made before we should all be so much the better shirted. We know to-day this promise, honestly given, has proved to be false. Of those things which bring contentment to the striving spirit, satisfaction to the yearning emotions, stimulus to the creative faculties, the mass of men and women have less than they had two centuries ago. Further, work for the mass of workers is so dulling to the mentality, so stifling to the imagination, that as soon as the factory doors release them they rush for excitement to the sports ground or cinema as a drowning man fights for air. Even into the hours of work we have to bring in brain specialists to point out where fatigue becomes dangerous to the human being or uneconomic to the business.

There is little need to draw attention to the injury which the beauty of the earth has suffered and the environments of our mass producers have suffered in their health-building powers from this same cause. The desire

to flee from its spoiled beauty and avoid its poisoned air on every opportunity creates the unceasing rush we see on every side. All the difficulties we experience in feeding our home population arise directly out of our hoodwinked use of power machines. We have not only taken the food-producers from their homelands; we have done all man could do to stimulate the mass production of children.

Time brings not only its revenges, but its wisdom. We have learnt an elemental truth of great importance from our adoption of the power machine. We have learnt that everything begets its like—that nowhere is there any standing still, but ever a begetting of a kind. The automatic machine has begotten other automatic machines, small power machines have begotten larger power machines, till handwork has been thrust into any corner where it could do its modest bit of work, keeping alive that cunning which is the inheritance of the hand and that taste which is the gladness of the eye.

As culture must ever rely upon gifts which result from the exercise of man's innate powers, it is man-power and not machine-power we need to increase.

The mechanical operator is up in arms against his fellow men, not because his wages are low or his hours long; he is up in arms against a system which has robbed work of its interest and home of its beauty; has barred every door by which he might escape from the dullness of the factory and the ugliness of his tenemented street—a system which has become, in fact, a disguised form of slavery.

Saint Augustine said: "Love God, and do as you please." A wise man, viewing human life in relation to our planetary conditions, might say: "Grow your own food, and do as you please"; meaning by this that, if we do the first thing that should be done, and in which, for our body's sake, we have no choice, we may then turn to any work we please, do it as we please and when we please.

But we cannot grow our own food as things and persons are to-day. The way out is not by intensifying mass production for foreign markets. The way out is by getting back upon the land and making as fertile as possible the untilled lands of our country, setting ourselves resolutely and collectively to this final solution, and, as practical persons, content to use as temporary measures any methods which will keep together body and soul of our too numerous folk.

Time was, and not so long since, when England fed all her mouths from her own breast; when England's hands and brains provided all the conveniences of life which satisfied the needs of Chaucer and Shakespeare, the taste of Wren and of Reynolds. And with our increased knowledge of Nature's ways and in a fuller co-operation with her we may do so again with a larger number of mouths to feed than in those days.

Meantime to help the present distress of our situation each may do something. We might exercise a restraint in our use of any foodstuffs from abroad which can be grown here, in our use of foreign materials and all finished articles, aware that these things *must* be paid for by some one's unfree and probably unwilling toil. In many ways which thought will suggest, if tinged with the least imagination, we may simplify life upon the side of its creature comforts and capricious desires. Any village might soon supply its villagers with all they really need.

Happily, the machine will be its own destroyer. World-wide competition in multiple production must some day destroy not only the advantages due to its first adoption, but the demand for the machined products. The machine cannot possibly give to things that quality which the nature of man demands, and will demand more persistently as education improves. For this reason the wisdom of a future generation will undoubtedly limit the use of the automatic machine.

On the other hand, to whatever humble service his work may be put, the craftsman may with a divine pride regard his work as of equal order with the work of the Creators of all time. As for the machinist, he merely lays the table at which the gods feast, forbidden even to pick up the crumbs that fall. How deeply our poet Wordsworth felt for the victims of this modern Fall of Man we know from many of his poems :—

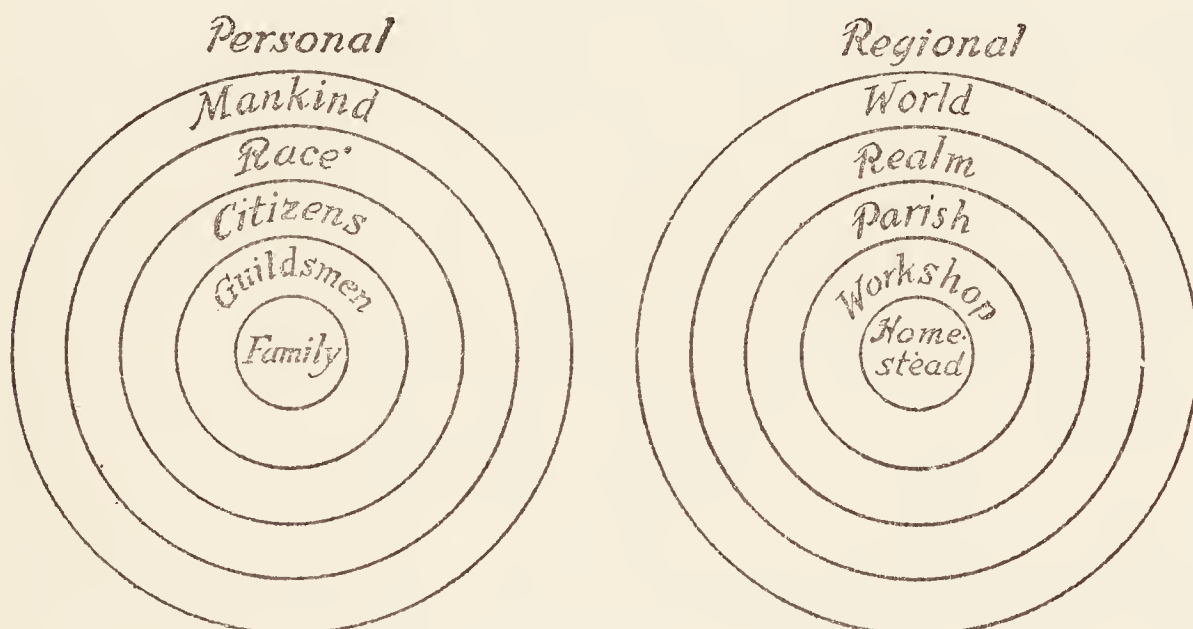
And much it grieved my heart to think
What Man had made of Man.

XLVIII

UNITS, PERSONAL AND REGIONAL

Let us conceive of the whole group of civilized nations as being for intellectual and spiritual purposes one great confederation, bound to a joint action and working towards a common result; a confederation whose members have a due knowledge both of the past out of which they all proceed and of one another.

—M. ARNOLD.



THIS diagram demonstrates the various human aggregates, considered as units, each of which touches and is touched by that community we mean by "the nation" or "our

country." The enlarging units indicate the expansion, from sphere to sphere, of those sympathies with, and interest in, others which have their origin in the Family and Homestead. Here they awaken and here they become intensive. As the sentiments grow they embrace ever larger spheres, till they know no boundary between the family and mankind. All friendships have their root in the ties and affections of the family life; here also the self-regarding instincts are gradually sublimated as the individual finds his feet in a world of comrades. The initiative of mental activity rests upon the self-regarding instincts and personal pleasures, but the sympathies as they develop give a social direction to this mental activity. We gradually find our pleasures heighten as we engage them with the pleasure of others. Sometimes this growth of sentiment is arrested, and then the primitive self-regarding instincts will dominate in every sphere: in the workshop to the exclusion of mutuality and co-operation; in the parish to the exclusion of neighbourliness; in a nation to the exclusion of international comity and peace.

A nation is no convention: it is the creation of common factors—(a) physical, giving folk living within geographical barriers a physical unity; (b) religious, giving folk a common ideal of life or a spiritual unity; (c) linguistic, by local speech giving a uniform and familiar mode of self-expression; (d) traditional, by race memory giving a conformity of habit and a typical aptitude through social inheritance. The special value of separate nations is derived from the advantages of diverse types of ideal, temperament, and activity. For, these diversities give rise to a noble rivalry between nation and nation in the contest for new gains of civilization. In our self-governing towns there should be in each town a constitutional unity free enough to develop a like rivalry, not for mere number of citizens, but for that refinement, wealth, and nobility shown in the majesty of its civic life and the superb architecture of its public buildings.

In each sphere, however extensive in range, the characteristics of the basic unit—the family—will inhere. No purely economic bond can permanently bind together any two, much less any larger number of, human beings. All human extension must be a growth round a centre which has a heart at its core. We must *feel* the tie. Hence, in patriotism there is awakened an enthusiasm which we cannot feel for the race. We must, however, intellectually comprehend the Race as a Unit of which we are a part—a unit which has a distinct destiny of its own in which we as a people are involved; a process of human development which is carrying every one along with it, and an interest of its own within which our less mature interests will find their fruition. The peoples we regard as the backward peoples are as much a part of this Great Race as we are; they are probably in their way ministering to its development, and may be they are not the backward peoples we suppose. When on solemn occasions we make an appeal to our fellows as members of the One Great Race, we make the appeal in the name of an Ideal Power outside and beyond this Race. So the General Act of the Berlin Conference came to be headed “In the Name of Almighty God.” On less solemn occasions we appeal to our fellow men in the name of an ideal power beyond Self—our Country.

XLIX

THE POLITICAL UNIT

POLITICAL life is the life of the city or State. Political affairs are those affecting the welfare of the citizen living within the city or State. The regulation of these political affairs has to be entrusted to individual citizens chosen by the group of citizens forming the State. In early days

the adults of a community would gather round the Village Tree and elect their Head man. He was chief Citizen, chief Warrior, and chief Priest. As communities grew, and as functions maintaining the life of a community became specialized—one class of citizen becoming the landed class, another the fighting class, and a third the ceremonial or priest class—citizens were elected by each class, and selected from each class, for the government of the community. The elect were thus the representatives of the three cardinal functions by which the life of the State was maintained and made secure. Thus arose the three estates of the Realm, consisting of (1) those who undertook its Defence, and were responsible for security both from enemies without and the violent within; (2) those who schooled citizens in learning, freed them from disease, and promoted loyalty to spiritual and political ideals; (3) those who were responsible for the maintenance of the physical life. This was the order of their dignity, and this order stands to-day. First, the King as Chief Warrior; next, the Primate of the Church; then the Barons as Land Lords. Thus, a representative Parliament was representative of *Functions*. With the growth of industries, the Merchants of each burgh sent up to Parliament their representatives also. With the development of culture and of the Arts, the Universities and the Craft Guilds came to be represented in the national Parliament.

The representation of these Functions in Parliament not only accentuated the distinction of classes, but gave power and privilege to those classes which dominated the regulative system and initiated its legislation. The growing consciousness of self which for some centuries had been restive, champing the bit of its restraint through government by a class, showed signs of asserting its power. Its sudden assertion produced the French Revolution, which was the fruit of a long contest between the power and privilege of a class on one side and the

rights of the man on the other side. One of the results of this Enfranchisement of the individual citizen was his demand for political representation by virtue of his manhood and citizenship. By slow degrees the barriers against this full political enfranchisement were broken down, and there arrived a manhood and womanhood suffrage. The political unit, which in the first instance was the functional order or class, becomes the homestead; and this unit again gives place to the personal unit. But, while the political units grow in number, the regions in which the election of representatives takes place remain what they have always historically been. The result is confusion, with no possibility for any homogenic group of citizens to obtain representation. This, felt to be the case by those who were the last to be enfranchised, and who suffered most from laws made by land lords and warriors, was countered by an organized system which again introduced "functional" representation. The Labour Party represents, primarily, the function of manual labour, no other function being organically represented.

The political representation of individuals is practically impossible in a community consisting of over twenty million adults. Some grouping of these twenty million units into homogenic aggregates is essential, and when grouped some sifting of the personal vote is again essential for finding the best representative.

The establishment of occupational Guilds, in which all workers engaged in a distinctive occupation are incorporated, will probably become the means, first of grouping the twenty million citizens into organic groups capable of representation, secondly of sifting the votes of each group so that the best representatives may finally be selected as Members of Parliament. In each region the manual workers at one poll and the mental workers at another poll will elect delegates to serve on the Council of the electors' Guild. Having this Council formed of local delegates, half of whom would represent the operative

order of worker, and half of whom would represent the administrative and supervisory orders, a sifting process would be possible by which so many delegates would be selected by the Council to represent the occupation in Parliament. In such case the Parliament, in its first chamber, would consist of members half of whom would represent the operative order and half the other two orders, each distinctive occupation having a numerical representation of members proportional to the number of adults engaged within it.

Some kind of functional representation in which some sifting process operates is the only system which can reduce chaos to order and extricate the grains of wisdom from the chaff of ignorance. Further, some such organic system is necessary to safeguard the State against the danger in its midst of such a high explosive as a mixture of mass disaffection, or mass infection of any kind, together with so crude a political power as is measured only by a count of hands. A law made in good faith by the Will of numbers might be such as would completely undo the order upon which our civilization rests.

Into everything human some intelligent organization, some reasonable order, must enter. Having broken down the old effete political organization, we must build up some organization capable of dealing with some twenty million political units desirous of being governed by the best men and women that can be found among them.

For the machinery of election we must have a constituency; yet the statesman stands for an idea as well as a constituency.

L

THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION

Man, born in a family, is compelled to maintain society from necessity, from natural inclination, and from habit. The same creature, in his farther progress, is engaged to establish political society in order to administer justice, without which there can be no peace among them, nor safety, nor mutual intercourse. We are, therefore, to look upon all the vast apparatus of our government as having ultimately no other object or purpose but the distribution of justice, or, in other words, the support of the twelve judges. Kings and parliaments, fleets and armies, officers of the court and revenue, ambassadors, ministers, and privy councillors, are all subordinate in the end to the part of administration.

—D. HUME.

THE British Constitution, by which we mean the Organ of Government for Nation and Empire, has been a development, and remains one of our most precious heir-looms from the past.

The composition of this constitution consists of two elements: the King and the Parliament—the Headman of the people, and the People in its corporate capacity. The King is the central rallying-point for all permanent interests—territorial, social, and economic. He is the “golden link” between the races of the Empire. His crown is the symbol of that unity among peoples which it is his office to promote. He is the Head of the State, not the Head of the Government. His sanction of a law enacted by the legislative assembly is the sanction of the Citizen State.

The office of kingship has become hereditary, because in a State so complex no system could be devised for selecting and electing for life any one citizen as sovereign. Consequent upon this life office of kingship being independent of, and superior to, the contentious claims of parties within the State, the King has a hold upon the deeper sentiments of the people such as no elected

President can hope to enjoy. He still remains the Father of the people.

Time has merged the political power of the King in the power of Ministers who administer the Government.

The Parliament consists of two Chambers. The First Chamber, the House of Commons, is composed of Representatives of the people—men and women who have been elected by the adult citizens of the several Parliamentary areas. The Second Chamber is composed of Hereditary Land Lords, Law Lords, and Spiritual Lords, or Bishops. The two former functionaries represent civil order and the feeding of men's bodies; the latter represent the spiritual order and the feeding of men's souls. The Law Lords also represent the King in his ancient office of supreme dispenser of Justice. To this House of Lords are submitted all Bills passed in the Commons, which Bills it may cause to be amended before the King's assent makes them law. This Chamber also initiates Bills, but has no power over the taxation of the people. Its debates upon matters of high policy profoundly influence political opinion. The Law Lords form the nucleus of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which is the supreme Judicial Authority in the Constitution, the King's ancient Judicial power being now delegated to Judges, Magistrates, and Privy Councillors. The life of a Parliament is limited to five years, at the end of which term, if not before, an appeal to public opinion is made by a General Election.

The House of Commons is divided into two political parties—one representing the element of Permanence, or stability, in the nation; the other representing the element of Progress, or movement. The party which has a majority in the House is entrusted with the office of forming an executive Government, the other party acting as the critical party. The Leader of the governing party is called upon by the King to form a Cabinet. This Cabinet consists of Ministers nominated by the Prime

Minister, who take office as Heads of the several executive departments of the Government.

The two-party system is an essential to progress, since the vigour of any institution is a result of a free rhythmic action between the dual principles underlying all permanence and progress. There is no life without this seeming conflict between the conservation of a condition or possession already acquired and the acquisition of a new freedom or power. The perennial struggle in the human world is one between forces and tyrannies representing the interests of the present on one side and the powers and principles representing the interests of the future on the other side—a fight for the supremacy of new morals.

The two Chambers constitute the Legislative power. The Cabinet and the Executive Departments constitute the Administration and Executive, Government consisting in the harmonious working of these powers. The ultimate control of the governing instruments is vested in the representative Chamber, although a wide discretion is permitted to the administrative and executive departments, even to the issuing of provisional Orders.

The tendency of Parliament is towards a more extensive discretion on the part of the Administrative department and towards a larger legislative power on the part of subordinate representative bodies such as Local Councils.

It has been a principle of our Constitution to keep the Judicial power distinct from the Legislative and the Executive powers. To combine them instrumentally would lead to a mental confusion between that which is and that which should be.

The personnel of the Executive departments is composed of permanent Civil Servants, with exception of the Ministerial Chief, who resigns his office with any change of party in power. Each Minister is responsible to Parliament for the administration of the department over which he presides. He is the Department. The

weakness of these civil services is that their organization is that of the private enterprise, while their expenses of administration are paid out of the public funds.

In settling the scope and character of new legislation every measure is the subject of debate in each Chamber. Before a new measure can be carried it must receive the support of a majority in the House. Thus the character and scope of a new law are the result of the action and reaction of the two policies of permanence and progress. But in settling the general policy to be pursued by the executive departments the party in power must rely upon unanimity among the Cabinet Ministers, dissent by any member involving his resignation.

The meaning of the phrase "government for the people" is this: All legislation shall have in view the welfare of the citizen State, not the particular interests of a section or class. It also means that only by consent of the people as registered by the ballot shall the Government exercise its powers and enact its laws.

Until some particular issue is put to an electorate most persons have no political views. Their opinion is shaped and made part of their consciousness only by the influence and suggestion of the person addressing them; so much so that where the orator begins there democracy ends. The individual believes, however, that he is a free agent, creating his own opinions. So long as a people have the semblance of an opportunity for choosing whom they will to make the laws, so long is the Government held to be a government by the people.

Only when the nation is under some stress do the political parties coalesce to give force to the overriding necessity of the hour. The politician is then merged in the statesman.

Under the influence of the social conscience the scope of government is broadening, and to meet this wider scope the political constitution is developing new organs or departments to perform its new functions. New

institutions are also growing up outside the Government. "We are in a movement," says Kidd, "wherein art, ethics, literature, philosophy, religion, politics, economics, are being broken to the ends of a social efficiency that can never be included in the limits of political consciousness."

LI

CONVENTIONAL LAW

All kin's o' labour, an all kin's o' skill,
 Would be a rabbit in a wild cat's claw,
 Ef' twan't for thet slow critter, 'stablished law;
 Onsettle *thet*, an' all the world goes whiz,
 A screw's got loose in everythin' there is.

—J. R. LOWELL.

WE understand the phrase "conventional law" to embrace that body of regulations which the social state imposes upon its citizens. Such law has no relation to those unalterable processes operating in the universe which, as soon as recognized, are termed "laws."

Conventional law is of two kinds. One kind of law is nothing more than the summing-up and formulation in a code of those local customs which public opinion decides should be made obligatory throughout the State. The customs or morals which are the basis of this law are of ancient origin, and have persisted because they were of advantage. Not until they are losing their advantage do they attract attention, and then the conservative instinct arrests their decay by converting them into law. Throughout the past it was more than an advantage, it was a necessity for the strength of a group, that every citizen held the same belief, observed the same morals, worshipped the same God, held sacred the ceremonies of the group-cult. With the development of human nature, which

brings a diversity of character, and with the varied rate of mental growth among individuals, this rigid conformity is less apparently advantageous. Then do kings and courtiers—the guardians of the conservative element—by legislation enforce a conformity.

The other kind of law is the formulation of public opinion—the registration of a new attitude of mind with regard to the duties of a citizen to his State or to his fellow citizens. Some newly recognized duty is made “a law of the land”—a significant phrase, dating back to primitive days when all men lived by the land, and all laws were “laws of the land.”

Since laws fix conduct, and since conduct is the free play of a growing social conscience, particular laws are soon out of date, militating against the advance of the social mind. Indeed, before the ink of the King’s signature is dry a law becomes an encumbrance to the advancing spirits who are bent on making a pleasanter road for their fellows.

The birth of political law is the manifestation of the birth of the social mind, the birth of Society. Political law is also the outward sign of a new spiritual vision: the vision of an objective beyond, and greater than, the personal interest of the moment. It is the sign of a vision of “Mankind.” It implies an extension of that sense of kinship which had its sacred law in the will of the Elders of the family, its Altar of personal sacrifice in the ancestral hearth whose fire was never permitted to die out.

In the course of social evolution, traditional customs, so binding upon the family kith and kin, are codified into Canons and Ordinances by the Church, and into Statutes by the State, according to the nature of the conduct with which they deal. Generally, the Church has dealt with offences against the common sentiment and common belief, the State dealing with offences against person, property, and national security. Later on, the State holds every offence of which it takes cognizance as an offence

against the body politic ; on this ground not permitting a citizen to end his life, nor to release another from an incurable disease. The penalties for ecclesiastical offences were threat of punishment in another world, with excommunication from spiritual communion within the Church, and from participation in her saving sacraments. The penalties enforced by the State took the form of fines, confiscation, imprisonment, outlawry, and death.

The burden of all earlier laws was "Thou shalt not"; the burden of the future laws will be chiefly "Thou shalt." All law implies the sovereignty of the State over the liberty of the individual by virtue of his being one among many, each one of whom claims the like freedom to develop to the utmost his personal nature ; the individualism of each person being attuned to the socialism of the group.

All laws, then, being what and whence they are, must be obeyed, even though a law be unjust in its incidence or no longer in accord with the growing conscience.

Laws are administered through Courts of Justice, in which Judges and Magistrates preside ; these officers representing the King, as supreme Guardian of the liberties of the people.

In criminal charges a man still has his ancient right of being judged by his equals in social rank—that is, by twelve or thirteen adult men ; this number of adult men in primitive days forming the complete self-sustaining and self-regulating family-group settled upon the common land.

To repeal laws out of date and to enact new laws is the chief task of the members of the two legislative chambers. To interpret the meaning of the laws, to draw up contracts in accordance with these laws, and to represent a litigant in a court of law, a body of lawyers of various kinds has come into existence. And where a knowledge of local custom is as necessary as a knowledge of the law, magistrates are chosen from the local industries and professions.

The law guarantees liberty of thought and action against intervention, either by the power of property or by an organization of numbers. Hence the Englishman prides himself on his country's "Common Law," and he finds in the law an example of what is meant by "social values." Moreover, he has a sense that the law has stereotyped some revered custom, and one which has long answered some lyric cry in the human heart.

Since laws can deal only with evils whose causes are recognized to lie within the reach of human action, and as science in its advances traces more accurately the sequence of cause and effect, laws must depend very largely upon the discoveries of science.

Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity have been held to be Natural Rights of man. But man has but one Natural Right—the right to punch another's head. This right of force the citizen has surrendered to the State in return for his defence by the State. The only Liberty possible is the freedom of a man to live and work without hindrance from, or to, his fellow citizen. The only Equality possible is that of equal opportunity for all men, upon the same terms, to work out each his self-development. The only Fraternity possible is that which grows out of loyalty and goodwill among comrades.

Political law will necessarily be always limited to the horizon of the State. Consequently, it must always be more backward than the moral law, which is concerned with principles that transcend the political consciousness. This distinction between the moral and the expedient creates the distinction between the politician and the statesman. Civil law, like Theology, is static; each must be either retarding to progress or reactionary. Only for a very short period can a law be beneficial unless it be a law liberating man from some more ancient law acting in restraint of a proper freedom.

The strength of law lies in the fact that men daily carry out its behests with no consciousness of compulsion. Its

power is more potent than the Will of Despots; it is above the King. It is the religion of the man in the street. It is the confession of man that there is in this world of men something higher than selfishness; something more worthy than the successful struggle for existence; something more authoritative than the capricious will of the individual.

Privilege is the substitution of Law, where, owing to circumstance, a law cannot act without clashing with some more general principle.

Laws will become fewer and operate over a less wide range of action as education develops the Social mind, and as man emerges from the school of enforced restraints. Public opinion will grow into a power stronger than that of the law, with the advantage that it will always be a more flexible instrument, though liable to the weakness of infection. The action of this unwritten law is seen in the public school, where a boy, soon after entering it, comes unconsciously to a conviction that this thing and that thing he is expected to do, this and that thing he is expected not to do—nay, cannot do, and remain a member of the school.

Thus, law begins in the early desire of liberty for one-self; it ends in the attainment of liberty for all. Moses embodied good customs in laws; a greater than he gave us good manners to supersede law.

LII

THE FUNCTION OF GOVERNMENT

GOVERNMENT has been a result of man co-operating with man to subdue Nature's wildness and to satisfy his own needs. This co-operation suggested to the individual the advantage of his surrendering his natural right of might

for a personal security to be obtained from an organized group. The group became a State, and the State an authority backed by power to which the will of each citizen found it advantageous to submit. From the moment personal freedom was surrendered to a public authority every man had a vested interest in the State, and was ensured a larger and more secure freedom in the performance of neighbourly duties. Upon this freedom and security, civilization—the fruit of co-operation—could raise her head without danger. The first conditions for man's development were secured by his acknowledgment of an overriding law.

For the guidance of the individual in his development as a social and spiritual being, an organ of spiritual government arose within the State. For the control of individuals as moral units of a co-operative commonwealth, which had also its own process of development and its own class of interests, an organ of civil government arose within the State. With each of these kinds of control man had become familiar within the family circle.

If the gains derived from the spiritual experiences of the past are not to be lost with the death of each generation, but to be handed on, and by each succeeding generation summed up in clarified tradition, made attractive by ceremonial art and powerful by early association with sources of profound emotion; if this is to be so, it must be the function of some institution so to hand them on. Such an institution has formed part of our social system, and is known as the Church. To this we give a larger meaning than that which has come down to us from medieval days.

If security from attacks without, if order and economy within the group, are to be enjoyed, it must be the function of some institution to make provision for these benefits. Such an institution is our Political Constitution.

This latter institution is the stabilizing flywheel in the civic mechanism, as the former is the guiding rudder in

the psychic mechanism. In former days the two institutions were united under one headship called the "rudder," "*gubernator*," or "governor." The political institution, now distinct from the religious, tends to an increasing integration of the social group, while the religious institution tends to an increasing differentiation of soul-units or personalities.

As man regards life to-day, he perceives a growth to perfection everywhere evolving. This perception leads to the comprehension of a synthetic principle as the basis and inner being of every kind of human activity—a law to which matters domestic, economic, and politic are alike subject. Under the influence of this law man answers to a work-stimulus more potent than hunger, and submits to an order more compelling than a police truncheon.

The Religious Ideal and the Civil Code are man's schoolmasters, tutoring his imagination and disciplining his habits. They bring us into closer conformity with the law of social growth, under whose peaceful rule Civilization makes her advances. The benefits we experience as a result of voluntary submission to political law lead us to expect greater benefits from a more general acceptance of the sovereignty of natural law. And as we learn the range of natural law we discover that ethical habits have their root in cosmic law—are, indeed, part of its evolutionary process. The modification of these derived laws is man's endeavour to bring them into a closer conformity with the cosmic process of evolution as he discovers it.

The Religious principle which is the basis of government cannot be disregarded; nor is it subject to the weakness of human nature. But the organ of religion—the Church—is subject to continual degeneracy and reformation. Religion must not be confounded with ecclesiasticism, nor with theology; it is wider than any Church, more profound than any doctrine, and independent of its human instruments.

For the political institution the problem is, Things being so and so, how can we make the best of them? For the religious institution the ideal is, Persons being so and so, how can we make the best of them? The former is the rallying-point and manifestation of the collective will in the sphere of action; the latter is the focal-point of the supreme desires of individuals in the sphere of emotion. Under the influence of each institution, acting and reacting upon one another, Society, and Man in particular, grow into a more ethical type.

The function of all government is to secure and maintain the best conditions for the full exercise of man's highest powers. To this end the political government is the guardian of individual liberty. Its statutes and sanctions are a perpetual reminder to the citizen that, while possessing a unique personality, he is a member of a corporate body; his freedom of social action conditioned by the like freedom of his political equals; his enjoyment of social benefits conditioned by the like enjoyment of any other member upon the same terms. It teaches man that the best use of his freedom lies in his voluntary restraint of it.

The framework of society which makes order possible and sacrifice advantageous should be regarded as sacred. Without order and sacrifice there can be no society, and without society there can be no human advancement. A State in which law is sovereign, in which a firm and settled course of public order is recognized, is a necessity if anything precious is to be brought to maturity and made a lasting heritage.

The regulative system on its political side exercises an inhibiting control over the physical activities which maintain the material welfare; on its spiritual side it exercises an expanding influence over the emotional activities which heighten the cultural welfare.

The Church as the organ of this system on its spiritual side may be regarded as the people in its corporate

character centred within institutions for the purpose of expressing, disseminating, and extolling an ideal which, it is believed, will be an attainment of the common folk in the near future; and to this common folk in its reach after an ideal a Church always addresses itself. It is the only democracy in which all individuals are regarded as equal.

The State is likewise the people in its corporate capacity, centred within an institution for the purpose of defending and promoting the fullest liberty of the individual that is compatible with the equal liberty of others in the immediate present.

The Church as a governing institution derives its authority from the recognition by the individual of a power outside self. The belief in this power provides a sanction for a class of conduct having reference to the welfare of others in the future, and this spiritual authority finds her mission in imposing such conduct upon every member within her communion. It is in personal conduct the rule of religion eventuates.

The State derives its authority from the collective will of the people, and it imposes upon every citizen a class of practice which shall allow the freest play of freedom for all its citizens. It is in civil custom the rule of the State eventuates.

The general dissemination, in the sphere of the imagination, of that ideal for which the spiritual organ stands sponsor is a condition precedent to the establishment of an equality of opportunity for all. The social mind must play freely upon the imaginative reason of individuals, causing them to awaken to the benefit and beauty springing from a more complete harmony in the group life—a harmony involving some sacrifice. This sacrifice is materially exemplified in the payment of tax, rate, and tithe for the supply of collectively enjoyed services, and spiritually by our choice of a task whose end is the welfare of others.

The Church exercises her spiritual guidance by counsel, the breach of her moral code entailing ceremonial excommunication. The State exercises its civil control by command, the breach of its law entailing social excommunication.

It is for the body of traditional wisdom—the assembled soul of all that men hold wise—to affirm principles for the conduct of the personal life in its relation to other lives. It will relate new knowledge to the betterment of conduct, to a greater mastery over self, a more just appreciation of the past, a closer communion with our fellows—means by which man increasingly satisfies his instinct for beauty and for perfectibility as a means thereto. It is for the body of traditional polity—the assembled reason of all that men hold expedient—to promote a conformity of action in the commerce of life, whereby man extends his mastery over nature and increasingly satisfies his desire for political equality and for civic order as a means thereto.

In so far as each institution fulfils an appreciable service to the common folk, never over-reaching its appointed province of control, or command, will each enjoy the respect and command the willing support of the people.

The Church also performs a great service in educating the mind so that a good use may be made of those common benefits which are derived from the State organization.

To inspire respect for age and authority within the family circle a ritual has grown up belonging to the religion of the hearth. This ritual of such humble origin has been accentuated with pomp and splendour to make more imposing the authority of religious sanctions in a larger world. Similar pomp and splendour enshrined the power which the Head man swayed over his people. Thus do the offices of State come to have a ceremonial of their own which is not without social meaning and value. The approach to any worth-ship is characterized by some

fitting ceremonial. The pageantry of a Lord Mayor's Show, the ritual of a Bishop's Installation—these are alike man's manner of showing what he holds to be worshipful. The attractive garment becomes symbolic, and should remind us of a majesty within derived from the dignity of the office.

The fitness of an Ideal to the circumstances of the time will depend upon the imaginative reason which finds its most free expression in the creations of the poets and artists—types of men who have ever been the pioneers and chief exponents of religion. For life is an art, and the artist best knows the manner and meaning of this art.

But God has a few of us whom he whispers in the ear ;
The rest may reason and welcome : 'tis we musicians know.¹

For the more efficient administration of these civil and spiritual powers the country is divided into regional areas, each of which becomes a local unit of administration for both Church and State. The nearer this administration is to the people for whose welfare it operates, its emblems and pageantry frequently visible in their midst, the more willingly will the people submit to its authority and respect its officers—the church with its steeple, the market with its cross, the village with its moot hall and Union Jack. Further, the influence of the better mind is felt more in the smaller group.

In a community so vast as the modern State there is danger in the growth of a political machine beyond the power of the people to control it. Social and political initiative may be discouraged by being rendered impotent. Decentralization of power can alone keep the machinery within safe and elastic limits of control. No tyranny so unbearable as that of a mechanical officialdom. The free reaction upon one another of political initiative and social vigour is essential to the health of a community. So also with a Church : if there be too many sheep under a

¹ R. Browning, *Abt Vogler*.

shepherd the wolves have their chance. Particularly is this so with an institution whose function it is not to teach the more perfect truth, but to make the more perfect man.

Such, then, is the function of these institutions, such their importance to the full life of man, that it behoves every man to do what lies in his power to support their authority over conduct, though no one can at any stage of its growth give implicit and literal adherence to every tenet sanctioned by a Church. As to the civil statutes, to these we must render implicit obedience, though the reason may not commend them. "All political principles," says Burke, "have to be referred to circumstances: these make every political scheme either beneficial or obnoxious. But that our private affairs do all ultimately depend upon public affairs is unquestionable."

Every matter with which the statesman deals involves a moral issue—that is, it touches the relation of the citizen to the state, and of the state to the citizen. And since every individual is undergoing a process of development or the reverse, individuals are in different stages of development, and answer in different degrees to the responsibilities of this relationship. This explains the fact that State measures seem to some an intrusion upon personal liberty, while to others the same measures seem to make too small a demand upon the loyalty of the individual as a member of a State.

The Church should not be an organ of the State, nor the State be an organ of the Church. A State-established Church is fettered in her spiritual ministry. Establishment encourages a personal adherence to her tenets after they have ceased to hold the heart and satisfy the intellect. Further, any dissent from such a Church makes a breach in the citizen's loyalty to his State and its institutions. Dissent should not be held less reputable than adherence to the beliefs of the majority. When our conceptions are in process of growth it is impossible that there be, at any time, unanimity. Dissenters have been the champions of

civil and religious liberty. Nonconformity is often the manifestation of a vital creed and the proof of religious integrity.

LIII

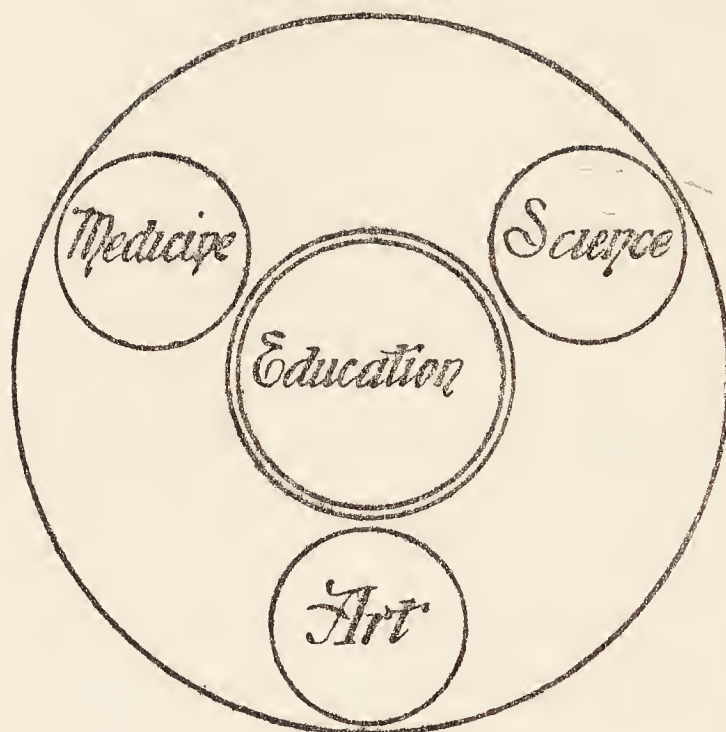
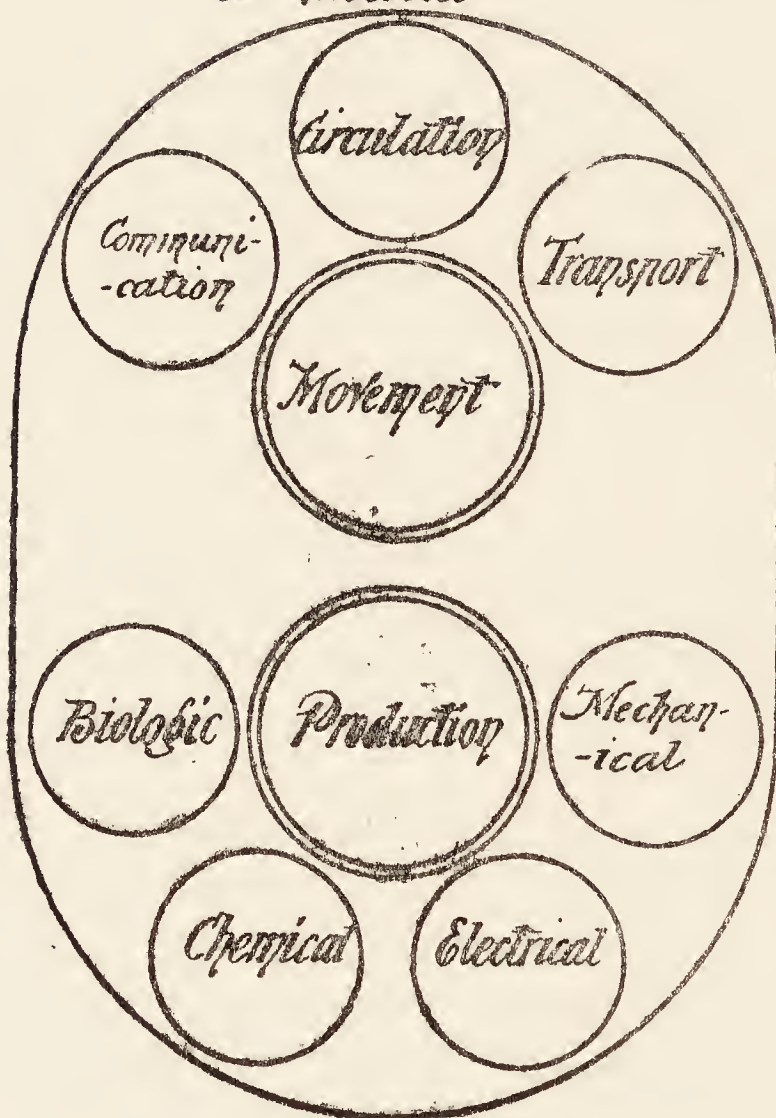
ORGANS UNDER CONTROL OF CHURCH AND STATE

ALL specialized activities within a community should be subject to a control emanating from the community, since every member is interested in the welfare to which they minister. The control will emanate in some cases from the spiritual authority, in other cases from the secular authority.

Education should be the principal institution enjoying the guardianship of the Church. Education aims at the endowment of a lofty cast of ideas through the knowledge of the best that has been thought and said, and of a truly directed social impulse through a development of the sympathies and æsthetic intuitions. To see that this aim, transcending any mere instrumental aim, shall dominate the education of the people is the concern of the Church. For the adequacy of the educational facilities the State should be responsible, the main burden of the cost falling upon the local and national expenditure until the common wealth is more justly distributed, permitting full parental contributions.

Art is the channel through which the Church wins her way to the heart of a people. All arts have had their birth in the sanctuaries of a Church, and have reached their loftiest expression as exponents of the Ideal.

As the artist ministers to the calls of our spiritual nature, so the physician ministers to the health of our physical

Cultural*Material*

and mental nature. The medical art is therefore a branch of education, and should be held responsible for the maintenance of health. The payment of the medical profession, to enable its members to maintain a high standard of vigour among the young, should not be made contingent upon the amount of disease within the community. Its members should be maintained as are teachers, and held responsible for the elementary conditions of health in homestead, school, and workshop.

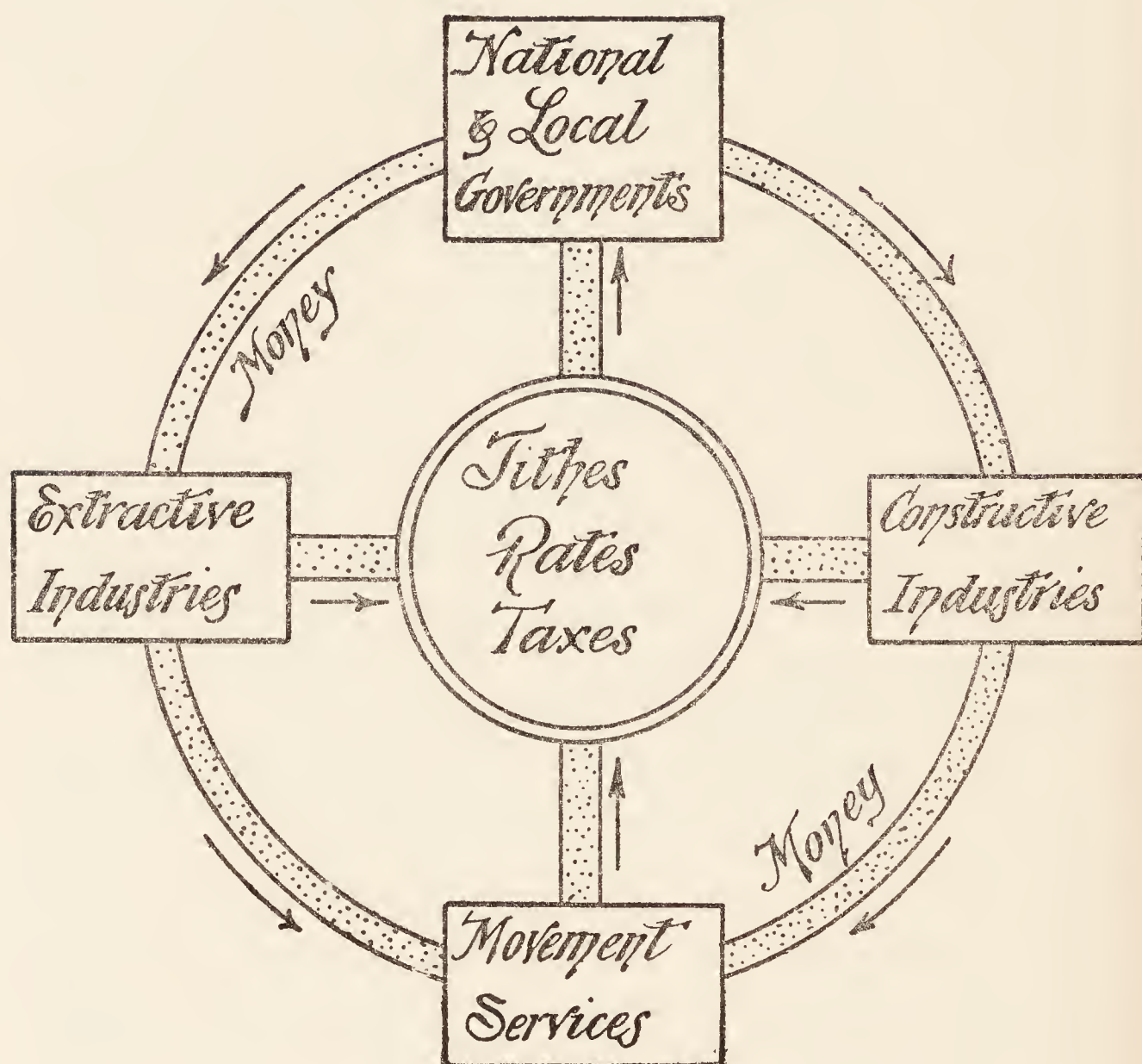
That science may direct its discoveries and inventions towards the amelioration of life, the Church should foster science, and relate its acquisitions to the refinement of conduct rather than to the increase of conveniences which self-interest will promote.

These activities—education, art, medicine, science—are the nurses of our cultured life. To be able to think accurately, to behave pleasingly, to have a fine emotional touch, a vigorous body, a balanced mind, an alert observation, a sensitive imagination—to have these gifts is to be fitted to play the man in the world, whatever be the outward circumstance or the inward call.

In the sphere of economics the specialized activities should recognize the overseership of the State. Only so can their constant relation to the bread-and-butter welfare of all be maintained. Such control of the main issue of an industry can best be exercised through the Guild Councils, whose president is an officer of the State; this also will protect us from the tyranny of a political bureaucracy.

The division of control suggested in the diagram must not be regarded rigidly. Church and State, as regulative institutions, will always co-operate and blend their controls in the common issue—the beauty of life and the liberty of attaining it.

LIV

SUPPORT OF THE CIVIL AND CULTURAL
INSTITUTIONS

It has been held that the Church, the School, and the State, as organs of the collective body performing tasks directly related to the common welfare, should be mainly supported by contributions drawn from the whole body of citizens. For this impersonal support Tithes, Rates, and Taxes have been instituted: the tithes to maintain the Church, the rates for the Schools, the taxes for the State. But since the Church deals with the more per-

sonal attributes, those that concern man more intimately, the submission to her discipline and teaching should be voluntary. Consequently, her maintenance should be provided by voluntary contributions. The tithe, or any offering taking the place of the tithe, should be one that it were well for every one to give, yet no one be obliged to pay. The appeal of the Church is chiefly to the conscience, and its support should also be a matter of conscience. Further, that the teaching of a Church may not be restricted by wills of the dead, by considerations of power due to property, or by the ignorance or sinister motives of its supporters, the Church should deny itself the possession of any property, relying wholly upon what is freely given from year to year. Its high spiritual office demands this.

The local rate for the local elementary and other schools should be a compulsory payment. Here we are on the same ground as we are with regard to the national expenditure. The higher schools and universities not being strictly local, their maintenance should be provided by county and national rates; the scholars, however, in all cases making some personal contribution through their parents.

The national tax for the payment of national and imperial expenditure should be levied from every citizen, since every citizen is in enjoyment of the benefits bestowed by the civil government. That these personal contributions may have an equitable basis two conditions seem necessary. One, that the contribution be directly related to the income of the contributor; the other, that it become payable as the income comes to hand, weekly, monthly, quarterly, or yearly. To rest the support of the State upon payments made out of the amounts of food we eat or tobacco we smoke is as undesirable as inequitable—inequitable because such tax falls heavily upon the family of the operative and those who by their simpler living are probably the better citizens, while it

falls lightly upon the administrative and professional orders. Further, any tax other than that upon income loses its moral character—a moral character which rests upon the responsibility of every citizen to support the State, which is, in truth, an extension of himself, and for whose inestimable services some estimable sacrifice is becoming.

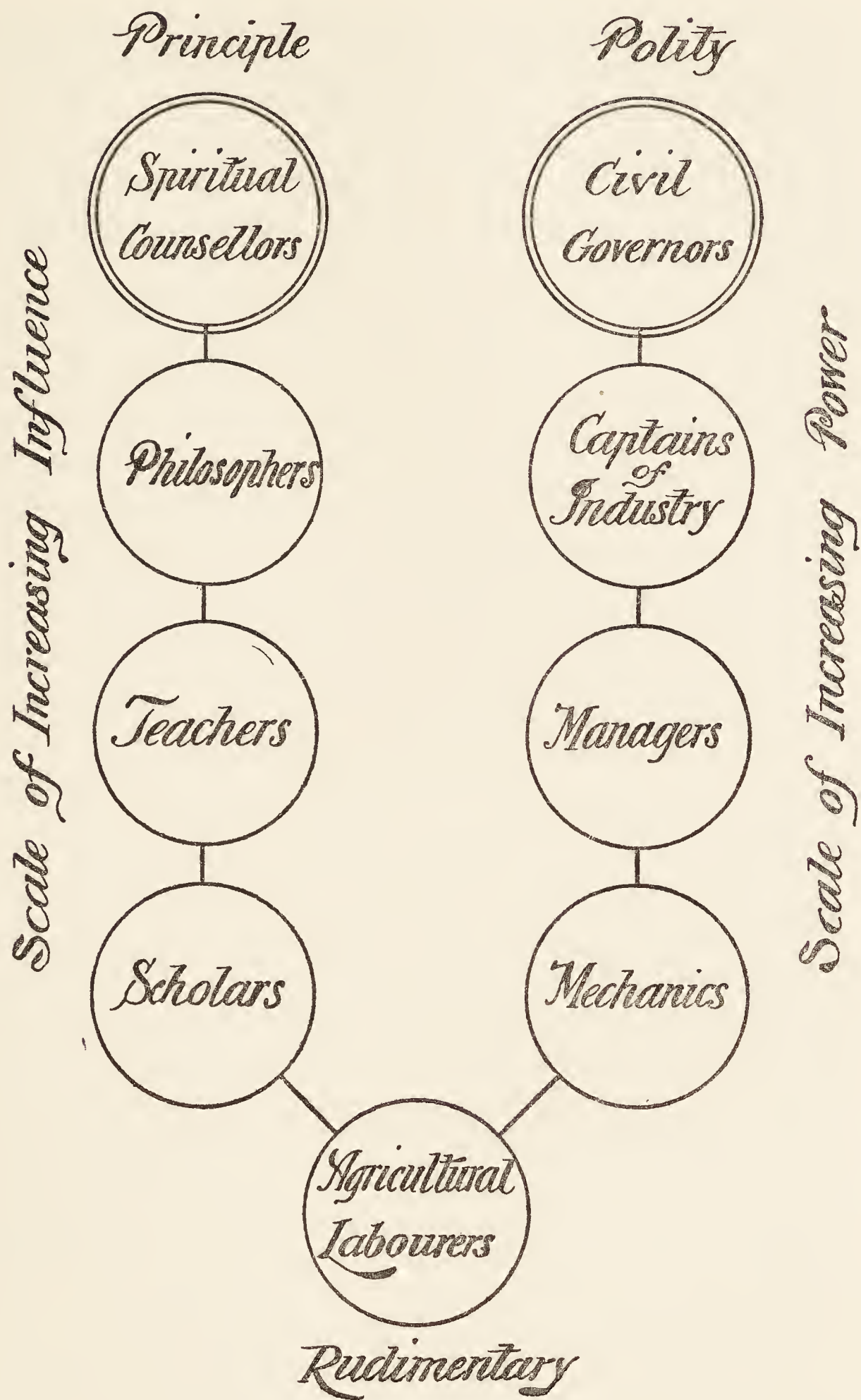
In the diagram we see the industries and services through which all incomes are derived, and from which all contributions come in the form of tithe, rate, and tax, the two latter being a first charge upon every income. The dependence of the Church upon voluntary contributions would help to bring about the voluntary service of those administering her offices. This also would lead to the teaching of more flexible doctrine, based upon the larger knowledge which is the heir of Time.

With the restriction of the function of government within its proper sphere, coupled with the elimination of interest-bearing loans, the burden of taxation upon income will, in the future, be light.

LV

THE PERSONNEL OF CHURCH AND STATE

It should be borne in mind that by the use of the term "Church" we denote no sectarian or theological incorporation of persons. In this term we include all organizations whose chief business is the development of the inward man and the guidance of personal conduct for a fuller human fellowship here upon earth. A Church, so considered, is the interpreter of the laws of nature, including that of our own being, as these laws are disclosed to the "seers." It is a perpetual reminder for each living generation that the undying element in human



development is slowly hewing out of life's natural rock a supreme work of art. Each single church or chapel, with its communion of members, is an organ of this idealizing Power, as every parish council is an organ of the Secular Power. For a purpose so far-reaching the choice of the personnel of both Church and State is important. Men and women drawn from occupations chiefly in the realm of arts and scholarship will be of the type best fitted for interpreting the nature of social evolution, teaching its conditions and inspiring the people with its ideals. Such a type of mind, having fine perceptions and æsthetic intuitions, will have a bent towards synthesis, as the type of mind engaged in commerce and mechanical operations will have a bent towards analysis. Workers who have attained distinction as medical men, schoolmasters, authors, artists, craftsmen, scientists, and philosophers—men of mature years and ripe understanding who have gathered the harvest of their generation—of such will be man's spiritual councillors. In the best periods of the pagan past the guardians and reformers of religion were the artists, poets, and philosophers. In the early Christian Church the first teachers, the bishops and clergy, were craftsmen earning their living by secular work, and sacrificing their leisure for such spiritual ministration as they were able to give. In our own day, with our schools, literature, and other cultural institutions, the work of a church does not require a minister's whole time. Moreover, as such work is of a nature that it is best done when freely done, having no price set upon it, it should be the work of men whose maintenance is derived through their secular work or from their pension, the voluntary offerings going to the upkeep of the fabric and other expenses.

History tells us, only too plainly, that religions become corrupt; means of extortion and cloaks of superstition, when a caste of priests is established whose livelihood is exclusively derived from ministrations to the intimate

emotions of men and women. The artist who ministers to this side of human nature is disciplined and kept robust by the necessities of his production; his work does not therefore suffer by being linked with payment.

Statecraft calls for a different type of mind. Men who have distinguished themselves in the economic spheres, men of commerce with a bias for the immediately expedient thing to be done—these are the men who can best handle the affairs of State. For the severity of the duties and the continuity of the duties involved some payment should be allowed, or the work must fall to the lot of those who have exacted too much from their fellow men, and are therefore not likely to be disinterested governors.

As Church and State, though distinct institutions, work in co-partnership, so will Churchmen and Statesmen advise each other—the Churchman helping the Statesman to keep true to moral principles in his polity; the Statesman helping the Churchman to keep true to life's experience in framing his ideals.

These two types of mind are found branching off from the root industry of agriculture into craftsmanship and scholarship on one side, and into commerce and administration on the other side; each in its highest power imaginative. Only in that work where man is habitually in the closest touch with nature do we find the rudiments of the two types of mind and character. Here, in this contact with the earth, in this life in the open; here, in work where the relation of reaping to sowing impresses itself upon the mind, do the roots of wisdom strike deep. And wise beyond their fellows the leaders in Church, School, and State should be. Moreover, the differences between man and man in type of mind being wider than the differences between man and man in power of mind, our choice of a type is easier.

Neither the Primate of the Church nor the Head of the State retains his ancient despotic power. Each is now little more than the capital exponent and symbol—the

one of the collective soul, the other of the collective will. The Kingdom is the sphere of the one majesty, Christendom the sphere of the other. Each majesty induces, psychologically, that unity of feeling and of action among citizens and among christians which nurtures the sense of kinship.

The nomination for the higher offices of Church and State might well be in the hands of those whose office the newly appointed take, such nomination being subject to confirmation by the will of the people, expressed through the machinery of their respective organizations—parochial and other councils. The man who has been doing the official work is more likely to know the man most fit to continue this work. Moreover, where duties involve exceptional powers and faculties the choice of a successor to an office should proceed from the higher office to the lower. Numbers do not increase wisdom save in affairs which come within the common experience.

LVI

EVOLUTION OF THE INSTITUTION OF GOVERNMENT

ALONG with the extension of families into communities, those organs of government which have had their origin in the family are also extended. We see the germ of all the essentials of modern government in the ancestral worship within the primitive family or within the village community, where kinship and not territory is the bond. Out of such worship grew obedience; obedience to the Will of the deceased Heroes, as interpreted by the Elders of the family. Government was thus made to rest upon religion or psychic influences. Life at this stage is

	THE INSTRUMENT	THE PHILOSOPHY
5	<p>Dual organs of Government :—</p> <p>1. Spiritual influence through a body of voluntary lay Teachers ; the Elders of Free Churches.</p> <p>2. Civil control through a representative body of Legislators in Parliament, Aldermen, and Members of Local Councils.</p> <p>Aristocratic upon a democratic basis.</p>	Sociologic
4	<p>Dual organs of Government :—</p> <p>1. A spiritual government by a State-established Church whose chief officials are elected by the State officials.</p> <p>2. A civil government by a body of rulers some of whom are hereditary, some nominated by the king, others elected by a propertied class.</p> <p>Dynastic modified by a democratic element.</p>	Liberal
3	<p>Government by Divine right, the Monarch being head of the Church and of the State.</p> <p>Monarchic and Theocratic.</p>	Feudal
2	<p>Despotic government by Hereditary Headman who is High Priest and War Lord.</p> <p>Patriarchal or Matriarchal.</p>	Militant
1	<p>Embryonic government through Chief, by Taboo, Totem, and Magic.</p> <p>Heroic.</p>	Fetich

In ascending order :—

Decreasing exercise of the arbitrary Will in government.
Increasing homage to the Will of the people and to the Social Conscience.

surrounded by inhibitions whose power is enshrined in magical formulæ and ceremonial rites. Such commonly observed rites gave cohesion to the group.

The worship of the deceased Ancestor gave Power and Authority to the head of the family, who was his living representative. With time, and with growth of the family circle, this ancestral authority wanes while the patriarchal authority waxes. The Headman acquires an absolute authority over the body and soul of his children. He is Church and State, war chief, and medicine man or healer. His person becomes sacred; he represents the tribal god, is "the anointed deputy of heaven." During this period the exclusive service of the citizen to the exclusive community is enjoined under penalty of death. The oath of allegiance taken at puberty by every male is the one sacrament.¹ A man will choose death rather than a change of religion or a change of State. The present welfare of the State in the eyes of the citizen is the dominant interest; it ranks above that of father and mother. Loyalty to the State means loyalty to the tribal god, and upon such loyalty depended a man's waking to a future life after his long sleep.

With the union of conquered peoples, each of whom had its own god, the supreme ruler became a monarch, the many gods became one god, the many peoples one subject people. Unification proceeded in all spheres, the territory uniting with the kinship as a bond. With this unification of diverse peoples the organization of government became necessary. Its arm had to be strengthened as it had been lengthened. The King became an Overlord ruling by help of his Barons, whom he put in charge of a domain for its defence and order. As "Defender of the Faith" he secured the traditional religion from heresy by the help of Bishops whom he appointed to sees of the Church. The value of this stage

¹ The word "sacrament" was the name given to the oath of allegiance taken by the Roman soldier.

is found in the consolidation of the State, in the building up of an ideal power resident and active within the community, and to which the physical power of the individual must be subservient. The authority of Baron and Bishop, derived from the authority of the Sovereign, promoted a unity of action and of belief in an aggregate that had grown to large proportions numerically and geographically. With the passing away of the belief in the Divine Right of King and Priest—so necessary to compel obedience at the earlier stage—the sanctions for authority come to rely upon the fundamental needs of the personal life within a fellowship of comrades. The basis of government, spiritual and civil, is now social, and no longer theological. Duty to our fellows takes the place of duty to God, the former duty embracing as much of the latter as we may surmise.

From ideals of a governing principle whose objective was the consolidation of the Church and State there comes a springing back to ideals centred in the personality of the individual and his need of freedom. With this object the metaphysical doctrine of the "Rights of Man" comes into prominence. Under the previous ideals tyrannies had arisen from which man must now enfranchise himself. The divinity of his manhood must assert itself. Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality are the rallying-points of this assertion. Through a period distinguished by an extreme individualism and a crude rationalism the social consciousness was still at work, making for the larger social ends in pursuit of which the individual was to find his fullest freedom and richest life.

We are now entering a stage when the social consciousness is maturing and bringing about, not so much a balance between the claims of the individual and the State, as a unity of Citizen and State. The State is the citizen in larger stature. The citizen is the State of to-morrow in its bud. Man can now frankly submit himself, without sense of degradation, to natural law and

order. The harmonization of his life, in all its phases, to this impersonal law constitutes for him the moral law, which it is the duty of the Church to interpret and of the State to enforce. Man is now fully conscious of his best self, in the development of which lies his freedom in the present and the perfecting of society in the future; fully conscious also that the race is far more important than the individual, this being the keystone of Socialism.

Stability of government will naturally follow upon the more general recognition of the State as our collective best self; its constitution as an instrument of our national right reason controlling individual wills in the name of an interest more embracing than the interest of any individual.

Such a socialistic ideal could break through the hide-bound prejudices and superstitions of feudalism only by the democratic force of the people—a people whose eyes are opened to the vision of a new world, and whose moral sense is vigorous and flexible through its long apprenticeship to elemental nature.

For the more complete functioning of the two kinds of government—the spiritual and civil—the organic separation between Church and State will follow. Such separation will emancipate religion from matters of policy and from any anticipations of reward or punishment as incentives to morality; it will also bring about a fuller recognition of spiritual values—the values which give beauty to our actions and joy to our emotions.

Through the high *morale* of democracy, when it has no longer to fight in the trench, there will emerge an Aristocracy, whose title to govern will rest, not upon birth or fortune, but upon the proved endowment of gifts—wisdom, courage, and disinterestedness.

Thus Religion and Politics have developed stage by stage, at each stage finding a mutual anchorage in some particular form of Loyalty. Loyalty to the family ancestors, loyalty to the tribal God, loyalty to the con-

science, loyalty to the intellect, and at length loyalty to THE RACE through obedience to natural law and æsthetic intuitions. In this progress each loyalty has framed its own ideal, each ideal illuminating that conception of life out of which it has grown. Thus man has to-day an ideal more brilliant, attractive, and inspiring than ever his predecessor had, since it impels him to fashion life as he would shape a work of art.

The times bring to birth the kind of government appropriate to the particular stage of development which a people has attained. Types of government cannot be transplanted. They are products of their own climate and civilization. Along the road of progress move the feet of philosophy and art. Hence the progress of religious ideals synchronizes with the advance of philosophic thought and æsthetic sentiment. Artists, poets, philosophers, and craftsmen are always in advance of politicians; they are the long-sighted, the seers.

As the new and more perfect "image" emerges, there cling to it for some time portions of the wrappings which enclosed its pupal state. The survival of these dead formulæ and untimely prejudices presents many difficulties to both Church and State.

A knowledge of the historic origin and continuity of our national institutions will increase our respect and deepen our love for them. It will also prepare the mind to expect, and to accept without fear, changes of law and of doctrine, of faith, morals, and ideals in both Church and in State. At the same time it will supply the imaginative reason with an instrument which will give man his true bearings in every movement, whereby he may know whether changes are taking man towards his Zion or towards the Sahara.

LVII

RELIGION

The health of his soul is a man's chief care.

—SOCRATES.

ALL civilizations have been built upon the rock of Religion. The need and virtue of religion is first experienced within the family, where personal satisfaction has to be linked up with and related to a group satisfaction, and where the animal impulses have to be transmuted to social impulses. The profound influence of the mother brings about, without our knowing it, these relations and transmutations, by which all individuals within the circle of the home are enriched in their satisfactions and refined in their impulses. This spirit of religion broods upon the waters of life to bring a loftier type into being. The larger the group-life grows, and the more complex the personal relationships become, the more need is there for this bond of Religion. Every human advance is marked by a loftier and more flexible religious influence.

If the common welfare is not to be a dream and fellowship an illusion, there must be some powerful mainspring directing motives to issues beyond self. To enable the Race to reap the full harvest of the Social Process working in the field of human development, Religion steps in as the most effective instrument yet invented by man. She has presented man with a better way of life than his immature reason could formulate. Her beneficent foresight covers a term longer than a man's short span. She links the loftiest aspirations of the race with the vivid dreams of its childhood: she links the welfare of the unborn with the welfare of the living, and becomes in her highest office the guardian of this future welfare. She anticipates the need of the morrow in a way a man engaged in his petty affairs cannot. She is the signpost of progress.

The institution of Religion, with her doctrines, ceremonial, sacraments, and worship, has been a growth from the beginning of human life. In its crudest and earliest forms, as we may still see it, it should receive our respect, though mixed with much that is repulsive to natures cultivated by a nobler religion. From the dawn of religion in totem worship and magic, spiritual craftsmen have been perfecting her as an instrument of human development.

The purpose of religion is something much larger than personal goodness. Her purpose is to round life into an embracing fellowship, and this she does by training the social sentiments; endowing a man with that vigour of soul which will cause him to choose the service of his country, even unto death, rather than the enjoyment of pleasures whose end is self.

That religion may teach this more excellent way she must possess a body of flexible doctrine, founded upon the best experience of the past, formulated and continually reformulated to impress the hearts of a people with the image of an ideal that shall rule in the common affairs of the every-day life and make this life glow with a spiritual splendour. In this work all arts gather round to make the art of religion more glorious, since everything they touch they exalt. By the method of her operation and by the nature of her inspiration is art singularly fitted to aid religion in teaching restraint of self for benefits to be reaped by others, since art is herself the child of a painful birth suffered for the joy of the beauty born into the world. "The only golden rule of life," says Blake, "is the great and golden rule of art." Unless religion through her ideal and ceremonial art impress the mind with a sense of beauty, she will have no more influence over men than the chatter of apes or the droning of bees.

The nature of religion, on its subjective side, is an ideal conception, stimulating the inward soul. On its objective side it is an external worship stimulating the emerging

emotion. Without some framework to hold it a thought cannot abide; without some symbol to embody it a sentiment cannot communicate itself. This objective side of religion, which manifests itself in collective worship—a pageantry of ceremonial and symbolism—has an ethical importance apart from its associated doctrine and ideal. For the same act of devotion unites men far more than the same thought or a common knowledge. Sentiments are intensified when affirmed collectively. Further, our union with a folk-church, our common participation in her soul-inspiring art through her rites, ceremonies, and sacraments, keep us in touch with the main stream of national life. “Pure religion breathing household laws” aims at carrying us along this main stream without risk of pride through moral isolation.

All religions agree in two assertions—one of hypothetical import, and one of ethical import. (1) All enduring things are the orderly manifestations of a “Power not ourselves,” and upon the operations of this power our life depends. (2) All self-respecting men should do certain things and refrain from doing certain other things; and the right and wrong action is in some way connected with our personal relation to this Power not ourselves making for perfection.

These two assertions cover the whole field of the most important concerns of life. Yet we must not rely upon aid from this Power through intercession, for this would undo our self-reliance. The Gods help only those who help themselves.

The central truths which religion teaches are clothed with symbolic ceremony that they may take hold of the dull and untrained intelligence, that they may be steeped in emotion, and suggest more than can be expressed, for the greatest truths cannot be spoken.

The conception of Righteousness as a natural aim of human life, as the craving of the soul for a spiritual beauty, and as the basis of a stable Society, has become the

central principle of the latest phase in the evolution of religion.

Religion helps us to keep the spiritual concerns of life in their right place and the material concerns also in their place. Only when the concerns of life are thus regulated and co-ordinated can we have life abundantly, leaving no need of our nature unsatisfied. Religion observes the law of Christ, also the law of Cæsar; the law of the body no less than the law of the soul. "We touch heaven when we lay our hand upon the human body," says Novalis.

Owing to the fact that we now see a process of evolution, under which the whole universe is being carried forward towards a perfection, we consider human life a part of this universal tendency, in the mid-stream of which each should be immersed. Moreover, this vision of an imperfection growing into a perfection brings to our consciousness the knowledge of our present incompleteness. It explains the craving which man has for a something more complete than the actual, a consolation unsatisfied except through confidence in the ideal. This consciousness of our being less perfect than we shall be gives birth to a regenerating principle in our life, under the influence of which we ever attempt nobler deeds and cherish higher aspirations. Under it we are born again and again. For this new birth religion is our foster-mother: she formulates for each birth a new ideal, and with her poetic power builds it round some Person that it may more intimately touch our human personality.

Religion is herself subject to the universal process of evolution. She has constantly to readjust herself to new knowledge, as the artist has to readjust his creation to new vision. For instance, we now think of God—working out the perfection of the universe, not from without, but from within and through the order of Nature—as a "Becoming," not as a "Being."

"There is one thing," says Victor Hugo, "that is stronger than armies: an idea whose time has come."

Religion supplies man with a motive for a type of conduct which is the winning type; a type of conduct whose goal is beyond the runner's reach.

When a system of ethics that has been imposed by Religion has to be thrown overboard as of no present value for life's perilous voyage, we need not throw overboard the Spirit of religion which is ever vitalizing a new ethic. When we discard a conception of the universe imposed by Science we do not overthrow Science. Religion and Science are periodically casting their skin. Together they make us at home in the universe.

Religion may be regarded as the outcome of man's perpetual search after truth—the truth of his relation to the invisible and to the life of the race in the future. In the course of the ages man comes to a perception of a larger portion of this truth, but of the whole truth never. We may think of truth as a large sphere set in the universe, whose surface is cut into innumerable facets; a facet facing each point of the heaven. In the course of man's history he gets a clear view now of this facet and now of another. And so he pieces bits of truth together; but these bits, being only partial aspects of truth, are in themselves only partially true, because their relation to the whole is unperceived. Churches are established as guardians and promulgators of this or that aspect of truth as soon as any have vision of it. Thus arise many Churches, each Church holding the core of a truth with much accumulated error around it. Religion gains by a diversity of Churches. The fact of there being many separate bodies, each body set towards the same goal, engenders among the members of each body a closer unity and a deeper sincerity. Were all Churches fused into one, the ecclesiastical system would become moribund, its priesthood indifferent and demoralized, the search for further truth relaxed. "The violent rending of the veil has brought mankind one step nearer to the Holy of Holies," says Coulton when speaking of the Reformation.

The test of religion is always this: how does she fit a man to serve the interests that shall rule the morrow? The test can never be the acts of the individual, for no man can entirely keep the precepts of religion; besides, good wine may be spoiled by the bottle into which it is put. The more vital a religion the more will it energize the State in the direction of helping the common folk to make its every-day life fuller by carrying beauty into its work and grace into its recreation.

The first and last command of Religion is this: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." The first and last teaching of a Church is to make known who is our neighbour, and to make the keeping of this commandment the touchstone of manly conduct.

The State helps us to make a living; the Church helps us to make a life. To help us in this the Church must "direct the best energies of men everywhere in those lines of aspiration and of action which will make for the coming of a better social order," says the Rev. Charles Brown. Until this spirit of Religion dominates the entire life, making it a rivalry among men to realize the best that is in each man, it will be as "the scramble of animals for the best bones."

LVIII

THE EVOLUTION OF RELIGIOUS IDEALS

MAN is a many-sided being and the butt of many desires. His development depends upon his growth on these many sides and upon the balancing of his many desires. To omit some of these by repression necessitates a going back at some time to pick up those that have been left behind. Religion in her broad grip of human necessity helps us

to keep in view this "wholesome" development of our many-sided nature. She knows how unbeautiful is the one-sided man, how injured is the nature that has its desires suppressed. Hence the evolution of man has been by way of an evolution of religious ideals. These ideals have had a genesis characterizing their evolution both in the race and in the individual; and most of us in this unfolding of the personal life climb the genealogical tree of these race ideals. In every generation we find individuals whose only light through life is some ideal which, in the far past, dimly lit the nursery of the race.

In a table at the end of this chapter are set out the religious ideals in their progressive stages. Historically, this has not always been their sequence; nevertheless, it shows their line of growth. Each stage throws light upon many dark corners in human action and sentiment. Each helps to interpret man's spiritual struggle for mastery over his imperfect self and his physical mastery over the external world. At each stage, with a recasting of his ideal, he throws aside some fetter that has hampered him in this struggle. Thus the stages of Ideals become stages of Enfranchisement.

At each stage man has embraced a larger synthesis, due to a more accurate knowledge of the processes of the universe and the functions of his own nature. It has meant in each case a maturing of the imaginative reason concerning the wonders of the world, with a wider range of sympathetic feeling for the weaknesses of the flesh.

In the initial stage of Fetichism religion was an instrument of propitiation between man and fearsome powers. The whole group took upon itself the sin of its members and made atonement by tribal sacrifice. In the search for causes the cloak of man's personality was thrown over every natural process. Deities resided in trees, waters, mountains, and clouds, evoking their forces for the discomfiture of man, that their thirst for blood might be satiated. The fairyland of children is a refined

Fetichism; their toys the mimics of creatures living in their imaginative world. The child's world of fiction, while reminiscent of the childhood of the race, is yet an anticipation of the manhood of the race whose real home will be in an ideal world.

In the succeeding stage of Polytheism—many gods—an enlarged experience influences the imagination, which groups phenomena into *classes* of activity, over each of which a deity presides. Under the influence of dreams man endows his own nature with a twin personality—the located body and the migrant soul. In this stage every domestic and political rite impresses the individual with his kinship to and his responsibility towards the Group-life. The social man is emerging through tribal man.

In the succeeding stage the ideal is centred upon a Supreme Being, who rules the world from without, the onelaw and one order in the universe necessitating the belief in one God. This idea of unity is enforced by the new knowledge, which places the sun as the central body of the universe in place of the earth. The divinity of king and priest is now greatly modified by the extension of the divine operations to a sphere beyond the earth and the admission of the divine presence within the man. The growing conception of oneness reacts upon man's notions—first in regard to his relation to his god, secondly in regard to his relation to his fellow men. Jehovah becomes the ideal Father, the world an ideal brotherhood.

The religion of Christianity—the conflux of Hebrew idealism with Greek intellectualism—was the fruit of the Monotheistic ideal; a fruit not to mature for many centuries after its Founder's death. The struggle between Hebraism and Hellenism ended with the victory of Hebraism, which, in the reformation, brought freedom of conscience. The future schooling of the imaginative reason will carry man forward towards a completeness in his development of body, mind, and spirit.

As man's ideal is no longer centred in the clouds, but settled upon the sunny earth to make more beautiful man's life where it must needs be lived, man is inspired by this more bracing ideal to emancipate himself from the wreckage of stranded ideals. He becomes conscious of his own divinity, and fights for his own rights. His theological belief becomes a "natural religion." This ideal, founded upon intellectual abstractions, lasted but a short time and never took hold among the people, for there was no appeal to the heart. It was a cold, impersonal, and naked philosophy.

We are now entering upon an ideal which is richer, larger, and more purely imaginative than those ideals out of which this has grown. It is an ideal of the full and rich life of the individual in a society of equals—a life lived righteously, not for any extrinsic reward here or hereafter, but because it is the only kind of life which self-respect permits, and is its own reward. It is an ideal which compels a man to do whatever lies within his power to make the like life possible for his fellows upon the same terms. It makes life beautiful, the man an artist and living his art. Man is now conscious of a social process under which the goodwill of all is upon each one, making possible for the first time the development of man's nature to the full. Fellowship becomes the basis of belief. Moral discipline has the love of others as its means, beauty of character as its end. We suffer at present from an overlapping of theologic and sociologic conceptions. This leads to a conflict between the Church which is still theologic, and the State which is mainly actuated by sociologic considerations.

The series of ideal upon ideal is as the series of rungs upon the ladder of progress by which man has made his ascent from the brute to the poet; ideals which have gathered into the enlarged province of religion, instinct after instinct, from that instinct whose joy is the shout of the war-song to that whose joy is in the silent union

of lovers ; ideals which have carried man's citizenship from State to State through Thebes, Athens, Rome, and Bethlehem, till it will enter the gates of that new Jerusalem of which Blake sang.

	ITS SIGNIFICANCE TO THE INDIVIDUAL.	CHARACTER OF RELIGION.	ITS SIGNIFICANCE TO SOCIETY.
5	The personal life heightened ; felt as part of the universal trend towards increasing Beauty and Perfection. Makes man an artist, living his art.	Socialistic. Christian or Humanistic.	Bondship through allegiance to a Power not ourselves making for the welfare of others in the future.
4	Freedom of Conscience and Liberty of Reason.	Individualistic. Agnostic.	Bondship through a recognition of "natural rights."
3	Blessedness independent of merit, circumstance, or status.	Monotheistic. Semitic.	Bondship through the Fatherhood of God.
2	The rewards of discipline and sacrifice.	Polytheistic. Pagan.	Regard for wishes beyond those of the individual.
1	Security through common Ancestral Worship.	Patriarchal. Fetich.	Birth of a spiritual bond through the common sense of kinship.
	In ascent : Increasing appeal to the Conscience.		In ascent : Nearer approach to a Kingdom of God upon earth.

LIX

STAGES IN SOCIAL EVOLUTION

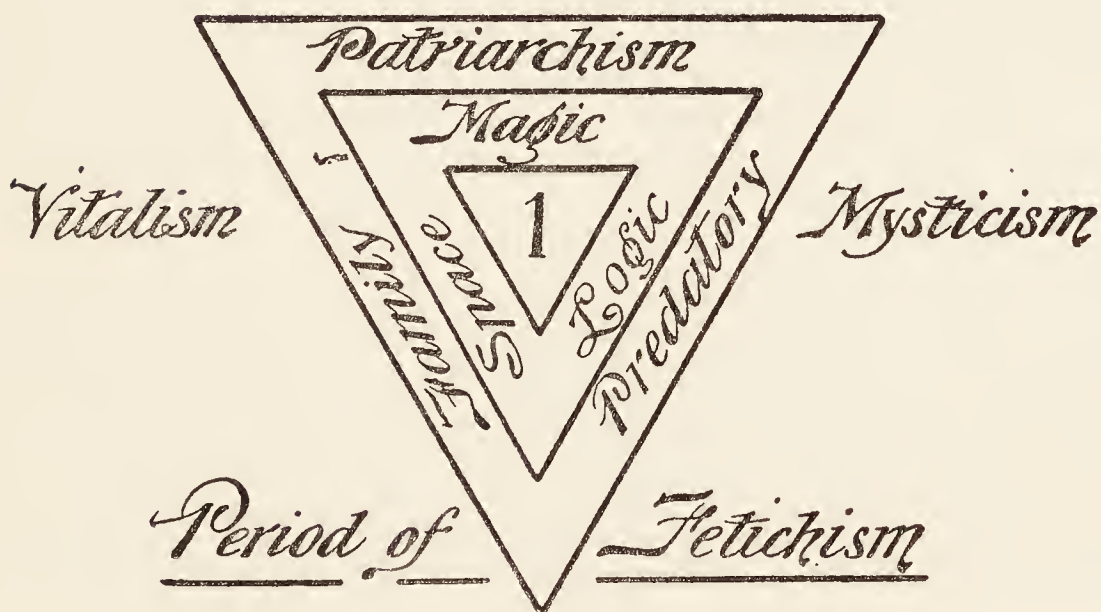
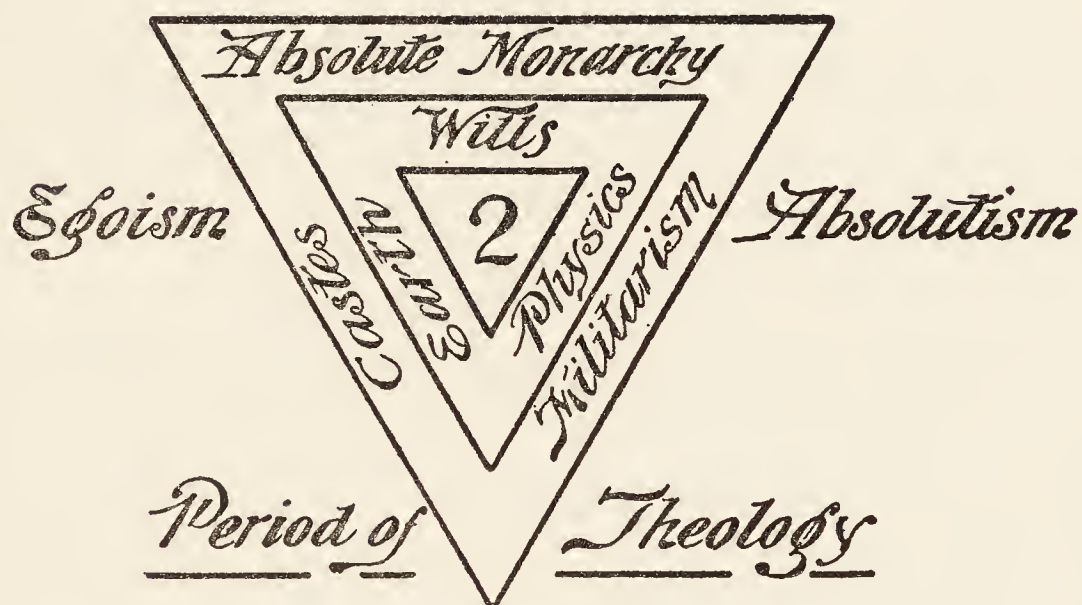
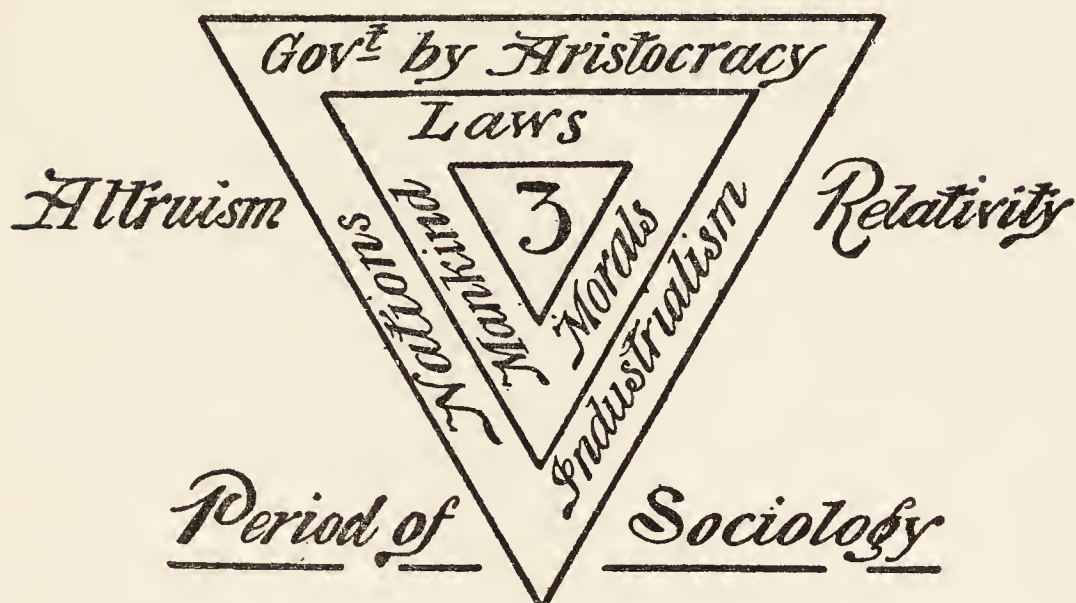
MAN's stages in his social evolution correspond with the stages of his religious ideals as presented in the last chapter. Religious ideals are a product of the social process, and the social process is advanced by the thrust of these ideals upon the practical life.

As groups of fellowship grow, the social consciousness, which is the ferment of this fellowship, matures, and by its clarifying power carries civilization to a higher plane. The general advance of social evolution is characterized by a more voluntary submission to natural law, which in its ultimate operation upon man becomes a moral law; also by an increasing enfranchisement of man from the tyrannies within and without, which hamper the free play of his maturing manhood.

There are two principal laws which dominate social progress:—

1. In the evolution of human society all details of development are governed by the fact that the struggle through which natural selection operates is always a conflict, not between individuals and individuals, as in the animal world, but a conflict between a less organic type and a more organic type of society. Under this law natural selection is evolving within the man those qualities which contribute to the society's efficiency in this struggle.

2. In the evolution of this society, the more organic type is developed by the deepening of the corporate consciousness. Under the influence of this more profound social consciousness the struggle in all institutions is tending to become a struggle between those less organic interests which represent the ascendancy of the present and the more organic interests whose dominant factor is the future welfare of the race.



The discovery and elucidation of these laws of social evolution we owe to that eminent sociologist, Benjamin Kidd. He has completed the work of Wallace and Darwin by discovering the process of evolution operating in the human kingdom, as they discovered the process operating in the animal and vegetable kingdoms.

These two laws should be kept prominently in our minds when tracing the development of that immortal body of which we are the mortal members.

The diagram indicates, approximately, the milestones on this road towards social integration. At each stage some new knowledge has been gained by man's constant endeavour to raise his standard of life; some old idol has fallen from its altar in the imagination; some new mastery has been achieved by the human in his conflict with the animal-man. These gifts and powers have been transmitted from generation to generation, and have thus become the heritage of the humblest to-day.

Our social inheritance we gather up as we grow: it is like a series of memory pictures slowly unfolding before us, in which we get glimmerings of man's primitive life. By the light of these glimpses of a past millions of years back we may interpret many of our own brutish ways and crude animal impulses. All progress having been a slow-paced advance, in the course of which many persons and peoples have fallen back, or been kept back, it is natural to find certain persons and peoples arrested in their development at some early stage. One of the objects of education is to shorten these cultural distances between one person and another, so that all may be conscious of a general advance.

We have alluded to the increasing enfranchisement which characterizes social evolution. First, man frees himself from the tyranny of passions so overmasterful that they lead not, as they should, to the glorification of his body and his soul. Next, he enjoys a freedom from the tyranny of force by surrendering to the State his personal

right to use it. Later comes freedom of conscience, followed by political and industrial freedom. We are now welcoming the liberation of motherhood and wifehood from marital servitude. All this emancipation is not for the sake of liberty—a poor thing in itself; it is for the sake of our Manhood and Womanhood, which can develop and live its life as the germ of Humanity in the future only when unfettered by inflexible bonds.

We are to-day in the throes of a further emancipation—the social emancipation of the manual workers. This the social conscience now demands. Yet it cannot be forced, for the backward man must be made *fit* to take his place beside his more advanced fellow man. We cannot put horse and bear in the same stall.

Following an equality of opportunity for all, there will arise a healthy rivalry—a rivalry not of classes for power, not of persons for possessions, but a rivalry of individuals for the attainment of the highest possible development of the human being. Under this process of rivalry individuals will be more differentiated, while under the free sway of a social ethic society will develop into a more organic whole. This twofold operation of individual differentiation and social integration has always been a sign of increasing civilization. Smith, in mind and aptitude, becomes more unlike Brown, yet with a closer fellowship with him.

In consequence of the difference of position in which particular nations and particular persons stand with regard to civilization, a rectitude of conduct both interpersonal and international is difficult of realization. Some live in a mental atmosphere out of which others have passed; some require methods of discipline useless and ignoble when applied to more advanced types; while others are still swayed by conceptions which render effective only those forms of penal discipline which were universal among primitive peoples. With these differences of mentality, the question continually arising is this: What is the right action for you and for me? The same question

arises in the family, and the solution is found by the mother in her sympathetic treatment of her children, severe though this, in some cases, may be.

In the above diagram, if we take each triangle in its order from below and then compare the one side with the same side in the triangle above, and so on with each side and base of each triangle in the series, we may comprehend the changes which in each field of activity characterize each successive epoch in the ascent of man.

The last and highest stage marks a condition in which there is a fuller response to the demands of man's æsthetic and ethical nature—a condition which sets a higher value upon beauty of character than upon fullness of knowledge. This condition is bringing to the mass a greater consistency of structure; to the individual unit a greater complexity of nature. Each personality is more evidently in the process of "becoming." It is forming a type that will set itself with deliberate purpose to the promotion of a welfare upon which its ascendants are entering. For this issuing welfare it will make some willing sacrifice of its immediate interests. Government in its highest phase is shown to be aristocratic—a government by selection of the best. Democracy can realize itself only through an aristocracy—by a process, that is, which thoroughly winnows the chaff from the wheat.

The chief factors of social advance in the future will be those by whose instrumentality throughout the past man has made his most permanent gains in civilization; they are also the factors which bring into an intimate union the best of the present with the best of the past. These factors are the æsthetic experiences embedded in the monuments which the arts create and time preserves. Wisdom and perfection can come only through some right and beautiful doing. The will to imagine and the power to create a lovely thing are the parental beginnings of human evolution, the summit of human achievement being reached when this will and this power have become

a habit of the whole people. Man the musician, life his music—a passage in the Grand Sonata.

LX

DEMOCRACY

The essential doctrine of Democracy is that each man, as a free human soul, lives of his free will in the service of the whole people.

—PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY.

THE meaning of Democracy as a form of government is “the self-rule of the people.” This implies more than these words at first suggest. It implies a conscious need on the part of the people of a rule of some kind. It involves a confession on our part that we are less well behaved towards one another than we might be, as well as an assumption that self-control must be the first of controls as self-possession is the first of possessions. The desire for a ruling authority can emanate only from a conception of some better order than the actual order—that is, from an “ideal.” Self-rule of the people involves, then, some recognition of an “ideal” state of civil life—a state more to be desired than the actual, and one that the general Will may make the actual.

The success of Democracy must therefore depend in the first place upon the character of our “ideal.” If this ideal is in harmony with the universal trend towards harmony, then has Democracy behind it the power of the universe, against which nothing can prevail. Fortunately, we may ascertain the direction of this trend towards perfection as surely as we may ascertain the direction of the North Pole. In the former chapters we have indicated this direction; here we need only add that a people in the natural order of things may be sure

it is facing the pole of perfection if its actions, heroisms, and aspirations have these three cardinal characteristics: Sincerity, Love, and Beauty.

Sincerity means that in all actions we go straight to the mark, letting the world see what our aim is, also that there is no pretension about it. It implies honesty. To possess this virtue is a condition of our being able to give a permanent lift to our fellow man by the daily work which we accept as our task and honourably perform. Yet this alone is not sufficient.

Love means that in our heart we have such full sympathy with our comrades in life, that we make some conscious sacrifice in order to keep the weaker brother alongside us in the march. This is essential, yet not of itself sufficient.

Beauty means that into every sphere of human life we reverently introduce that supreme quality whose appeal is to man's noblest faculty, the imagination—nature's first and last gift to man each day in the majesty of the sun rising and in the glory of his setting. These three virtues must Democracy cherish.

In more concrete terms we may put it thus: It must be the aim of Democracy in its rule to win the hearts of oversea folk and not their markets; to open the eyes of commercial men to see that money-making is not the first nor last lap in the race to avoid poverty. To use machinery for any other purpose than that which will ultimately increase every man's leisure and in its process assist the full development of every man's nature is to add degradation to toil. The use to which we put the gifts of the earth and not the ownership of them is our only worthy concern in matters material. We must see that every citizen keeps his shoulder to the wheel and pulls his full weight in the co-partnership State. Further, the democratic control of the common output of work under which all citizens may share the enjoyment of its fruits is as much a part of the rule of Democracy as that political

enfranchisement to gain which the fight of the people has been so keen.

As one of the wisest of kings said, three thousand years ago: "It is good and comely for a man to eat and to drink and to enjoy the good of all his labour, for it is his portion."

Yet, it may be said, a people does not so much desire to govern itself as to be well governed. That it may be well governed, Democracy must forge some instrument by means of which "the best" are sifted out and raised to power. To get the best the process of selection must operate as part of the process of election, the many selecting a few, and this few selecting a still smaller number to be submitted to an electoral body for final selection and election as legislators. This process of selection, implying a trust in the abler man, will probably arise out of the occupational organizations when more complete. Mazzini defined Democracy as "the progress of all, through all, under the leadership of the best."

Unless democratic government does eventuate in a government by the people under the leadership of the best, a nation will soon become the victim of ambitions so vain and materialistic they will bring a common disaster.

International affairs are likely to be in better keeping when in the hands of a people's government, because in matters that are impersonal the ethics of the people are more sound, their sympathies more frank and less subject to the restricting influence of competitive interests. Yet here the leaders need to be well informed, or alien peoples will be treated as though all were in the same stage of civilization and capable of making the same good use of its gifts. The recent international attempt to get uniformity in hours of work and standard of living under quite dissimilar climatic and spiritual conditions is a case in point.

LXI

STAGES OF EDUCATION

All who have meditated on the art of governing mankind have been convinced that the fate of empires depends on the education of youth.
—ARISTOTLE.

Under the influence of the collective ideal imposed on the young every individual is driven to endeavour to lift himself to the level of his inner ideal social-self and towards a collective end. To impose this social heredity in all its strength upon the young is the chief end of education in the future.
—B. KIDD.

SUBJECTS.	PERIODS.	EXERCISE.
Organic Sciences. Inorganic Sciences.	Puberty to Apprenticeship.	Mental.
Arts. Language.	Second Dentition to Puberty.	Emotional.
Games. Dance. Song.	Infancy to second Dentition.	Imaginative and Physical.

To be read from below upwards.

FROM birth to maturity the life-process is not so much one of growth as one of development. It is a gradual formation of new structures and new organs as the need of new functions arises. In this development there is an unalterable order. In many of its features it is a recapitulation of the Ancestral past. The principal aid we can give the young in their training to use their wits is first the provision of the appropriate stimuli to liberate the faculties as they bud forth, and secondly in guiding the exercise of these faculties to a social destination as the social conscience is awakened.

Every personality is a mosaic of diverse aptitudes and

tendencies, some of which need stimulus and encouragement, while others need some repression. There is in each one a best and a worst ; education energizes the best.

Each cycle of life has its distinctive functions and organs. Each has its appropriate mentality, which gives rise to a peculiar view of the outside world, all experiences of adolescence being translated into the terms of this view.

In the first biologic period there is a rapid development of the bodily structure, senses, and imagination. Rhythmic motion, melodious sounds, brilliant colours, agreeable tastes, fragrant odours, and pleasing touch—these sense experiences are brought into the child's surroundings. Dancing, games, and music become the instruments of education. Thrills of delight and self-chosen adventure are more important than any information that can be assimilated at this opening period. The instinct to repeat the past finds expression in play, which should be self-chosen, and forms the larger half of education. The heart goes out into play as into nothing else ; it is the school of morals. Strength, courage, confidence, decision, promptness, are virtues acquired in the games of childhood. In dancing and in song the sense of beauty is developed by the child's part in creating it, the poetry of motion and melody opening every avenue of art. The games chosen will be individualistic and full of make-believe.

This first period is the age of Fetichism—an age in which the feral instincts are strong and need sympathetic handling. By stories and adventures in the fields the child is helped to live out this stage of its life more fully. What is seen and handled is best remembered, the fairyland of inner vision slowly losing itself in the world of outer vision. “ All knowledge begins and ends in wonder ; but the first wonder is the child of ignorance, while the second wonder is the parent of adoration.”

The second period is the emotional period. There

comes a desire for communicating with others. The inward self is less insistent; objects begin to have an interest of their own. Through language and the arts are avenues of expression opened, the tongue and fingers kept busy. The child will turn out its mind, draw things out of its fanciful head. Direction is submitted to if sympathetically given, enabling the mother to help the character to form itself. The character formed under the loving influence of the mother abides through life. On the arrival of puberty it is unalterably fixed for good or for evil. The mother does not mould the child as she would; this is impossible. But by gentle encouragement here, and by soft discouragement there, she can make the best of the native possibilities, and in this manner and to this extent does she transmit the social inheritance to the upgrowing generation. Man being in the making, the child is nearer to the future than is man, and woman is nearer childhood than is man; consequently, she is more prophetic of the future, as well as being more reminiscent of the past. The soul of the mother turns to the child and to the future; she is the teacher born.

Sports, games, and dancing will still help the development of the body in beauty, balance, and virility. Team games in which the individual is sacrificed to the whole, and in which obedience to a captain is enjoined, are now preferred—the social man emerging. The more recently acquired and specialized organs, such as the reasoning faculty, are now developing, and make great demands upon the body, so that the measure of leisure and repose should be large. Sentiment now plays the largest part in the boy's life, seeking its satisfaction in romantic literature, in adventure and self-chosen friendships.

The heart of education, as well as its phyletic root, is in the vernacular literature and language. Letters and speech are the chief instruments of the Social, Ethnic, and Patriotic sentiments. To the mother-tongue, however, should be added a foreign language as an

influence destructive of national prejudices, also to awaken an interest in the mechanism of language. The study of animate life should now be encouraged, to educe a disinterested sympathy and develop a sense of oneness in all forms of life. Nature interprets the human body, the wonder of whose mechanism should invite frank investigation; just as the boy investigates the mechanism of his bicycle as soon as he begins to ride it. An understanding of the body should be acquired, not that every one may undertake his own repairs, but that every one may so rightly use the body that little or no repair may be necessary. The senses are the entrance-gates of the mind. To make the senses quick, fine, and discriminating is important, both intellectually and spiritually. The practice of the arts makes the senses quick, fine, and discriminating as nothing else can, while they provide a source of intense enjoyment. Games and crafts should occupy the largest place in education at this stage, since we are still developing the instrument, not filling a vessel with pilules of fact. The flexibility of mind and muscle gained in the playing-fields fits the individual for social co-operation. The young by their play are enabled while in happy mood to anticipate the struggles, emergencies, renunciations, defeats, and victories of their after life. Education, therefore, should be the supplement of the play-instinct.

There is, we repeat, an order of biologic development, and to this order we must adhere. Hence, the expansion of the emotions should precede the expansion of the intellect, since if the intellect be strengthened before the sentiments expand the reason will not readily submit to the promptings of the emotion. A pride of knowledge is unfavourable to the formation of, or submission to, ideals. And ideals beget civilization. Moreover, behaviour does not account for itself unless it appeals to the emotion by being beautiful, goodness by itself being sterile.

During the third period the training of the intellect

and the acquisition of knowledge through the reasoning powers working upon the objects of observation are carried as far as the mental faculties of the scholar will permit. The brain, soon after puberty, has developed its mature structure and is ready for exercise. The die of character has now been finally cast, and will determine the use that will be made of schooling.

As the faculties of the imaginative reason strengthen, there will be a desire to know more of the world we live in than the eye can see; the reason will follow its own processes. This end will be reached first by a study of the inorganic sciences, and later by a study of the organic sciences. Astronomy will exhibit the processes of movement and force in their simplest phases; and for the solution of interesting problems arising out of this concrete science mathematics will be introduced. The study of the inorganic sciences will be completed by a knowledge of the physical laws operating in mechanical, chemical, and electrical phenomena. Such knowledge of physics, gained largely by observation and partly by deduction, combined with the knowledge of plants and animals in their natural surroundings, will make a sound preparation for the study of the human body and, at a later date, for the study of the collective body—the community.

Early in this period, puberty having been reached, the individual is subjected to a new force pulling him in a direction opposite to that in which he has hitherto been drawn. The old force still impels him to seek self-expression; the new force impels him to seek self-expansion also by incorporation with others.

By the observation of childhood and adolescence we come to understand that instincts have their own calendar, as well as their tidal ebb and flow. Owing to this fact the moral guidance of parents is most urgently needed at this critical period in the life-history of the individual. The “teens” create a period of emotional instability. There come experiences which are regarded with a kind

of sanctity. The path of adolescence should be therefore made easy by an understanding of the normality of primary acts, functions, and organs—all a part of the godly and goodly whole, and only when not so considered is anything connected with the body ungoodly.

The study of Botany, Biology, and Physiology will help youth to interpret the mechanics of his own body, and to be impressed with its wonderfulness and beauty. These studies will become an introduction to the sovereign study of the Social Body. History is to be understood only when the light of social development is thrown upon it, showing changes in a natural sequence from a lower to a higher type. Through the science of Sociology, with its historical illustrations, we become acquainted with the Cosmic law of social development. We get an insight into those universal processes which are secretly moulding individuals, generation after generation, into an increasingly homogeneous organism—Society. Our study of History enables us to perceive the gradual uplifting of moral issues and motives which, age by age, carry civilization on to a higher spiritual plane.

Opportunity to enter a university should be given to every scholar having the necessary natural endowment. The university seeks to quicken, with the richest experiences of the race, those qualities of mind and spirit which will fit each member to render his unique service to the community. Here is knowledge humanized—that is, made a human instrument—by being related to the human processes of life. Here culture seeks in a disinterested manner after a perfection of all our faculties—a perfection which, resulting in a nicely balanced disposition, makes character universally attractive.

Education during the first two periods may well be the same for boys and girls, though the girl passes through these stages more quickly than the boy. Of great importance is it that children of all ranks and orders should be taught at the same school. To impress the young life

with distinctions not based upon merit is socially injurious. Education will make short work of such valueless distinctions: it will make its own unalterable distinctions by evoking distinctive personalities. In education we are dealing with a human nature that is becoming something other than it is, but in the early stages distinctions do not arise. However, as things are, this mingling of classes in primary education should come about slowly and naturally.

Knowledge is acquired by four distinct routes:—1. By contact with things through the senses. 2. By reasoning upon the knowledge thus gained through the process of induction. 3. By reasoning through the process of deduction. 4. By authorized teaching. Each of these methods requires its own kind of mental discipline, so there is a double gain in the pursuit of knowledge by each of these routes.

The wider the range of our education the more are we impressed with the power of ideals, also with the presence everywhere of a process making for perfection. Under the spiritual rule of this power and within the sanctuary of this process is the nobler life set; the reach of life after perfection in the domain of action leading to righteousness, and in the domain of things leading to beauty.

The education of character includes the cultivation of the taste. Unless youth grows up in an atmosphere whose stimulating quality is derived from the inspiration of the arts, character may be robust, but it cannot be fine. Nor will the arts flourish save in an atmosphere made bracing by an ascetic simplicity. If the human spirit is to be intimately touched by the more choice qualities, there must be a lack of the fat things: the simple crust, but the best of wines. Only in this appropriate environment of the unfolding life will taste develop, and unless its germs are rooted there the man may surround himself with works of art and yet be as untouched by their beauty as the policeman in the National Gallery.

As soon as a spiritual authority has been established

and recognized, the education of a people will be its special care.

We thus see that education is a process of cultivation very like that which the gardener employs for his plants. It has an order fixed by the periods of evolution persisting as much in the individual as in the race—a time of making wood fibre, a time of budding blossoms, a time of maturing fruit. In human nature the order of development requires that the first power to be drawn out be the æsthetic sense, whereby the desire for Beauty is assured; next, the moral conscience, ensuring the appreciation of Goodness; lastly, the reasoning faculty receives its training whereby Truth is sought and put to the test. These in their harmonic relations constitute the art of living.

LXII

CONDUCT

What thou doest is of most uncertain moment; that thou do it *truly* is of quite infinite moment. So have all good men from the beginning of the world believed.

—T. CARLYLE.

CONDUCT makes up the greater part of life: how we behave is of more importance than is our industry or our creed. The responsibilities of what Carlyle calls Me-hood and Thou-hood are complementary, neither to be rightly met to the exclusion of the other. "Every given man, if he be a man at all, looks at the world from a position in several respects his own peculiar one: let him look at it faithfully from thence, note faithfully and believe heartily what he *sees* there. It will not contradict his as faithful brother's view, but in the end complete it and harmonize with it. Each man is the supplement of all other men." In doing truly the bit of work that falls each day to one's

hand, one may be sure of doing the best possible service to one's fellow men now and in the future. It will, in some way we wot not of, better the conditions for our ascendants; in some degree heighten their power to make order and beauty prevail.

Conduct puts us on good terms with ourselves and also with others. It is the outward show of that spiritual desire which, as Plato has said, "for ever through all the universe tends towards that which is lovely." Conduct is thus something more than an instinctive kindliness, though this kindly or gentle instinct is at the bottom of it. It proceeds from a profound sense of what is lovely. It is the art of being; it is the aroma of life. A good taste, an alert imagination, and a fine emotion are the factors of conduct. It assumes a like taste and emotion on the part of others. Hence it rests upon the sense of kinship.

These factors of conduct are made part of the habit of life during childhood and adolescence; if then omitted, we are at a loss for them throughout life.

With the unfolding of human nature, with the freer play of the higher faculties, social morality—the responsibility of man to man—will take the place of theologic morality; the discipline of adolescent man. Therefore, in all matters of conduct, conscience is the final court of appeal.

The quality which, as a means, should permeate conduct is self-restraint. No fine or great issue can emerge where this is wanting. In art it is a sign of power; in government the mark of disinterestedness; of science it is the root, and of speech the flower. This restraint, or power of control, finely tempers every physical effort by its spiritual severity.

"The emotion which beckons me on is indubitably the pursuit of an ideal social self. It is a self which seeks to set up within the individual nothing less than the standards we attribute to God," says Henry James. A man's happiness and self-respect demand that he be loyal to these

internal standards, though they be such as do not ensure temporal success.

“Do you not think,” writes John Burns, “that among the few favoured of Heaven in the structure of their minds there may be a purity, a tenderness, a dignity, an elegance of soul which are of no use—nay, in some degree, absolutely disqualifying for the truly important business of making a man’s way in life?” Yes, surely, and due to the racial impulse which moves a man to ends beyond those of Self.

We should understand that *Morals* consist in our living in accord with the customs of our contemporaries. They are distinct from religion, which compels a mode of life in accord with our spiritual vision of the unchanging order of the universe : *morals* bring the outer self into harmony with the world of living men ; religion brings the inner self into harmony with the whole world order.

LXIII

THE PURSUIT OF BEAUTY

THERE is but one source of such complete satisfaction as may be man’s upon this planet. This lies not in beauty, but in the pursuit of beauty. This pursuit brings one’s whole nature into play, and is persisted in with undiminished zeal to life’s end. To do one’s task worthily, to do one’s duty honourably, enables one to hold the head up, but still leaves one an hungered. This pursuit, if it is to be satisfying, is not for the inert possession of beauty : it involves an effort to add in some way to the sum of beauty adorning the human hive.

Man has been built in a beautiful mould, and lives his life in a beautiful world. The presence of this beauty,

his life contact with it, have made its daily need a habit of his nature. Under the urge of his craving for it he has accentuated the beauty of his body by decoration, has made ornamental the things of familiar use, and spared no labour to create round his dwelling a beauty more choice than that of the wild. This beauty of the body, this beauty of the earth, is man's most precious inheritance. Its presence upon and about him provokes the noblest emotions, the warmest and most universal sympathies: nothing unless good can enter the substance of beauty, or exist beside it.

This being so, at any sacrifice we should avoid all toil likely to mar the beauty of the body, which is a trust to be handed on to our children equally with our faculties. Having this reverent pride in our bodies, we shall have a care concerning the work we demand of others, lest it bend them into uncomeliness or blemish them with disease. Equally should we reverence the beauty of the earth, and guard it as a solemn trust for those to enjoy who follow us. We may be sure that if we do not consider the lilies of the field in their beauty, some day we shall deplore the barrenness of our pastures and the cheerlessness of our toil.

The outward show and substance of every human ideal has been the endowment of beauty. We can know the perfection we are in search of only through our vision of this veiling of beauty—this wondrous harmony of qualities, always so arresting. There is nothing permanently arresting, nothing which answers the cry of the soul, that is not lifted out of the commonplace by this buoyancy of beauty. Perpetually to make its increase our aim, the love of it an expression of our life, is to touch the mantle of the Divine Presence.

LXIV

THE LAW OF DIMINISHING RETURN

WHATEVER our sphere of work or mode of life, we shall find ourselves frequently up against results which are not those we anticipated. We work at a certain pace in making things ; we quicken our pace, and the result is not increased in proportion to the increase of effort. There is a wastage of effort measured by the scale of former performance.

In every expenditure of effort or material the result obtained reaches a certain point at which the ratio of product to producing power is at a maximum. Increase the power and there is a relative loss. We are winded to no purpose. This gradual rise towards a ratio that gives the maximum result for the minimum expenditure, with a fall towards a ratio that gives the minimum result for the maximum expenditure, takes place throughout the universe. Even in the spiritual sphere, where moral or æsthetic qualities are the result of the operating motive, this process is not absent.

In our industries we have specialized our workers, we have standardized our patterns. The increased economy due to this has been great. But when we still further increased this specialization and standardization the unexpected thing happened : there was not only a fall in the ratio of material result to the power used, but an increase of human resistance—a deterioration of the human nature and power. We have consequently been forced to a study of fatigue—fatigue of muscle, nerve, and interest : we have had to take into account the “ economic ” ratio between sub-division and repetition on one side, the quantity and quality of product on the other side. The law of diminishing return has to be respected in its

operation upon human nature as well as upon material processes. This law also applies to machinery. The maximum output in relation to the normal need may be quickly reached and overpassed by our automatic power machines bringing about an economic loss by excess of mechanical power.

In agriculture we have not reached the maximum of production in relation to natural fecundity and human science. But the law will assert itself here.

Applied to the population, the law operates thus :—As a population grows, every increase of those who can produce good and desirable things brings an addition to the sum of good things which each can enjoy, since every worker can produce with ease and pleasure more than is necessary for his body needs. These good things are products, not of human effort alone, but of effort applied to the natural resources of the earth. From an area necessarily restricted, the population upon that area will at some time reach the highest level at which its natural resources can be gathered *with ease, dignity, and pleasure*. When this level is reached, any increase of persons will bring about, first, a strain of effort to procure its equal share of good things; next, a draft upon the fixed capital resources of nature, which belong as much to those who succeed us as they belong to us; ultimately, a lowering of the æsthetic and physical standard of living. Hence we must either restrain our procreative power, or we shall breed for disease, degeneracy, and ungentleness.

In the use of our faculties this law also applies. We can get only poor results from the unintermittent employ of a natural faculty. The more powerful or highly trained the faculty, the more sensitive is it to monotonous exercise. We need for the best results a variety in our work, play, and emotional recreation. We are learning what the cup of tea, the smoke, and a game of cards will do in the factory. For a man to do his best he must be at his best.

History provides us with many examples of this law's

working in the spiritual sphere. The desire to attain goodness has at times been cultivated intensively to the exclusion of other human qualities and desires. The effort and the sacrifice have been enormous. The result, weighed in the balance of human perfection, as interpreted by our clearer reading of God's law, has given, on balance, a diminished return. The type produced has been sadly incomplete.

In the last five generations we have produced a sadly incomplete average type of man through concentration upon material wealth—the product of the power machine. We have overshot the mark in the production of human mouths which we cannot feed, of machined goods we cannot sell, of mechanical appliances we cannot wisely control. We need to go back and pick up the lost thread of a more beautifully balanced and intelligently ordered life, content to have only those things which can be had on terms of respect for our own manhood and the manhood of others.

LXV

COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY

THE State is the citizen in his corporate capacity; the citizen is the State in its personal capacity. Neither can henceforth be considered apart from the other. However, there are responsibilities which properly belong to the State, others belonging to the citizen as such. Duties which cannot equitably be placed upon single individuals become the obligation of the State. Foremost among these are the defence of the realm, the maintenance of order within it, the comity of all relations without it. Education should be to some extent a collective responsibility if every one is to have an equal opportunity. To

prevent any defection on the part of an individual from his duty to others in the use he makes of the land, for instance, or to his children and dependents in the use of his maintenance-pay, is a matter of public concern. We have already explained the principle upon which the State should be made responsible for the equitable distribution of those benefits we all demand, and which, having to be supplied by human effort, involve some personal contribution on every one's part.

Any political action which weakens individual responsibility is injurious: it should always indirectly strengthen this responsibility. But that responsibilities may be met the State must see that each citizen has a reasonable opportunity for satisfying his hunger for knowledge and beauty, or he is unfit to meet his social responsibilities. "No State," says Sir Henry Jones, "ever legislated well if it weakened the individuality or limited the enterprise of its constituents." As the State is based upon the personal Wills, so are collective responsibilities based upon personal contributions.

The influence of civilization in making the individual more conscious of his responsibilities towards others will reduce the responsibilities of the State. Increasing nationalization is a sign of increasing delinquency on the part of individuals or classes.

LXVI

INSURANCE

THAT we should bear one another's burdens we all admit, for did we not there would be little benefit in being members of a community. But in all sound reciprocity there are two sides, to each of which an equal respect must be paid. The insurance for which provision has to

be made by periodic contribution to a general fund covers to-day many contingencies. By these periodic contributions the burdens which accidentally fall upon the few are shared by the many. These contributions should be sufficient to cover any contingency likely to arise; and for this we should spread the net wide enough.

It is not good for the community that the individual be hopelessly overcome, or even crippled, by a misfortune. But we are all human, and humanity has its weaknesses; so, while support is good, it is not well to go through life on crutches. In all cases of misfortune by fire, illness, disablement, or unemployment, the individual to whom the misfortune comes should directly bear a part of the economic loss; yet only such part as shall not cripple the man's resources nor involve his family in any serious disadvantages, for the family is socially of far more importance than the individual. The contributions against these contingencies constitute the insurance fund. Every industry, through its Guild, will have its general insurance fund to cover all insurable contingencies, and to this fund every guildsman will regularly contribute. All pensions for old age and those to widows will come out of this fund. Every citizen whose income has been arbitrarily limited, upon reaching the age of retirement, will need a pension which in its amount should bear some relation to the occupation-income previously enjoyed. Out of the insurance fund the medical officer of health will receive his salary. He will be responsible for maintaining a certain standard of health in his district; also for the treatment of patients, who will, nevertheless, pay a small fee for his attendance.

The occupational-income is not only to maintain the worker's family, but to provide for all insurable contingencies, including pensions. It is the duty of the State to see that the several industries, through their members, meet these liabilities as well as those for the national and local expenditure.

Every kind of expense has necessarily to be provided in the last resort by the productive industries. The State can provide nothing, as it produces nothing. Any system that helps the individual to experience this foresight and surrender is so far good.

LXVII

UNEMPLOYMENT

UNEMPLOYMENT is a disease in the distribution of work, as impoverishment and ignorance are diseases in the distribution of wealth. Collective effort is at present directed towards freeing ourselves from the results of selfish ambitions for which we are all culprits; also from the irrational customs of a competitive commercialism of which we are all victims. Little time have statesmen to organize on a sounder basis that distribution of work and of wealth upon the efficiency of which the general welfare depends. One of the most distressing effects of our neglect in this is the unemployment of able men and women, also of youths fresh from school. The nature of a problem always carries within itself its own solution. It is the over-employment of automatic power machines which has brought about the under-employment of human power. We have fed machines instead of men. We have perfected the machine while we have atrophied the hand. Men have now neither skill, tools, interest, nor training. They have their food, since the State sees to this. It is for the industries to correct the evils arising out of their unsound system. Each industry, through its Guild, should be made responsible for the employment of those who are thrown out of work by its maladministration or want of foresight. It should find for these men and youths training and tools. It should organize

departments for handwork and a sorting out of men for this handwork. It is not a matter which the State can possibly adjust unless it were to become an industrial concern, which would be incompatible with its proper functions. Only sound organization within the industry can remedy evils arising through a lack of such organization. If the responsibility for the maintenance of the unemployed in a particular occupation is thrown upon those who are employed in it, some means will soon be found by which such responsibility shall not become a permanent burden, but rather one that shall bring about a reasonable restraint in the use of the machine with a freer use of human hands and wits. Not a loaf more would be eaten by the nation as a result of this better use of the man; but such bread as is eaten would be sweet and not sour. The nation would gain by the increase of beauty in life's equipment through ampler handicrafts. And as craft training extends, the countryside will absorb a much larger population, having the cultivation of its homesteads as a background and a recreation for the craftsman's life.

Further, we must bear in mind that to-day many industries are in a parlous way through excessive and avoidable overhead charges, such as interest and rent. These gains should shoulder a large share of that burden of unemployment they do so much to bring about. "The pressure of internal debt," says Lord Bradbury, "is without the least doubt a serious handicap to industry and production, and the country is impoverished to the extent to which production is impeded." Some day the business man will see that multiple production does not multiply wealth: it can multiply only the less beautiful thing and the less capable man. The unskilled man is its by-product. The spectre of unemployment, with an impoverished larder, should not be imaginable in a country such as ours, but so long as it is, a man cannot put his heart into his work. Any man who does not freely and

fully use his wits for some useful work should lose his freedom, and as a slave be harnessed to the State.

LXVIII

THE PUBLIC PRESS

THE Public Press, by which we mean the whole body of journalistic publication, has in these days a very important function to perform. It is the organ of public opinion, which may be defined as wisdom in the making. To express every shade of this opinion, to formulate and focus opinion upon social problems and wants as they arise, are among the duties of this organ. To act as a critical observer of the Government and as a ventilator of opinions upon matters of practical polity are chief among the great services it performs. Here it can work outside the range of party controversy carried on in heated debate and within the cooler atmosphere of the written word. In its free expression of thoughtful opinions it may educate the popular mind, and at the same time guide the legislator. The fact that the words spoken by the statesman in a parliamentary debate will in a few hours be read and pondered over by the people of every country the world over is a restraining and strengthening influence. Through the Press the politician addresses the world; the House becomes a part of the machinery through which the statesman endeavours to clarify the clouded views and expand the meaner interests of the world-folk which has now in its own hands the power of advancing civilization. In the first essays of a democratic government it is of immense importance that we have an educative organ like the Public Press. Until democracy has found a way of putting its best men in the seat of power, we are forced

to sit upon a highly explosive mixture. In the presence of a public opinion that is made strong and stable by minds of sound experience, democracy will be less likely to throw a match into this mixture. The Press will have a powerful restraining influence upon hotheads.

Yet its influence might be much greater than it is were it emancipated from interests which dominate it: interests that do not promote that welfare which the winning type of mind is striving to advance. The Public Press is to-day the Press of the competitive and irresponsible shopkeeper. It *represents* not co-operation, but competition in its most wasteful phase. It is more a display of shop goods than a dissemination of social news. Its tongue is tied or loosed as the man who is out for a gain may choose.

A Press, to fulfil its mission and secure the respect and attention of the common folk, must be free, and therefore entirely supported by its readers. This would bring about other good results, for the present competition between journal and journal, so wasteful and disturbing, would be reduced to the simple rivalry to give the best news and reflect the soundest opinions.

The distinction between journalism and literature is this: the journal gives the news and expresses the personal opinions of the day; it also brings grievances to public notice. Literature gives expression to more profound sentiment, more particular knowledge, and epitomizes the wisdom of the past. The daily Press is not a vehicle for literature. Men who write with a sense that they will not be remembered, and in their writing deal with affairs important to-day but not to-morrow, will not write as those who speak to posterity. What is said in the Press should, however, be said clearly, truly, briefly, and disinterestedly.

By its alliance with the philosophic bodies of the day the Press will endow public opinion with coherence. From its alliance with the spiritual teachers it will acquire a

force extremely beneficial in helping the formation of public opinion. Thus may the Public Press become the most powerful buttress of the populace when material power would undermine its security. It may verily be a people's parliament, in which is called forth the expression of its best self ; attesting the moral attitude of the people, which is always sounder than its rational judgment. Those at work in the valley see the pathway up the mountain side more clearly than those whose feet are upon it.

The present commercialism of the Press suppresses the moral judgment of the people by appealing to and stimulating its foibles, its credulity, curiosity, and passion for excitement. It accentuates the inconsistencies between what is and what should be. And such inconsistencies imply a falsehood somewhere in an otherwise consistent and coherent universe.

In every sphere the standard is set by the cultured few ; the Press should be the Public Orator of this select university, in which every reader may graduate.

LXIX

FESTIVALS

The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard,
The passion that left the ground to lose itself in the sky,
Are music sent up to God by the lover and the bard.
Enough that he heard it once ; we shall hear it by-and-by.

—R. BROWNING.

WHEN we look over the landscape of human evolution we see it as a vast expanse of land in process of redemption from wild scrub to a garden of ever-increasing fertility and beauty. Over this immense field of human industry and perseverance we note outstanding features which mark improved methods of intellectual and spiritual

cultivation. These features are due to the work of individual men—pioneers whom we note as discoverers, inventors, prophets, poets, and seers ; men who by æsthetic intuition, patient industry, perseverance, sacrifice, and perspicacity have brought to a practical test and issue the tentative hypotheses and incomplete discoveries of their predecessors. By special devotion to the interests of the future, these men have been content to suffer privation if only they could lift their fellow men to a higher level of achievement and more enduring satisfaction. They are men who by their clearer telescopic vision have foreseen dangers ahead and have voiced the warning note to call a people back to ways of peace and pleasantness. They are men who in their own day have been able to “cast out the devil,” free the mind from enthralling superstitions, and make the blind to see. Pre-eminently are they men of presentiment and prevision. Such men have left their indelible mark upon the field of human progress. For our wholesome humiliation no less than for our encouragement do we dedicate certain days to their memory. Their birth-days and their death-days we keep in high festival, the essential part of which is the proclamation of the giver and the public honouring of the gift which the human race has secured through the life’s work of the Hero of the Festival. Such festival is the curtsey of the world to the excellency of soul. Truly we need such reminders of what has been done for us in the past. They are examples of what many a one might do would he pay the same price of self-renunciation. For our wholesome humiliation then are these festivals, because these bright stars in the human firmament have derived their light from sources equally open to all. Moreover, they have done what they did when in possession of material means that most of us would deem scanty. “What porridge had John Keats ?” asks Browning.

There will be Domestic festivals which each family will keep in honour of its Ancestors ; the Local festivals which

school, village, and township will keep in honour of their local saints and harvests of the earth ; the National festivals in honour of national heroes ; lastly, the World festivals which the several States should organize and keep in imposing splendour for the honour of those who have suffered most for the worthiest ends, the bright jewels in the breastplate of Humanity.

Man instinctively seeks a hero to worship ; if he has no better, he will worship his poor self. We should, therefore, proclaim the heroes truly worthy of worship. The heroes and heroines worthy of this worship will be not politicians, nor lawyers, nor financial magnates, nor great organizers ; they will be those who have seen visions and imaged ideals ; men and women who have toiled unceasingly to bring their comrades within sight of these visions and within reach of these ideals—men and women who have more clearly than their fellows seen

How good is man's life, the mere living ; how fit to employ
All the heart and the soul, and the senses for ever in joy.

—R. BROWNING.

LXX

REST

LIFE has its two parts—the active and contemplative. Each is to be lived. In the former is developed the sense of responsibility to others ; in the latter is developed the sense of responsibility to one's self. We have surveyed the activities which maintain the personal and the corporate life, and in doing this we have laid stress on the duty imposed upon each of us to take his share of this common task. If we would each do our share of the world's work, each must keep himself fit by setting apart periods of time consecrated to absolute rest of body and mind. In

such periods we should experience complete freedom from customary duties; we should release the spirit, were it but for a few moments, from every secular tie, that it may wander where it will. Such rest is the condition of mental and spiritual receptiveness. It involves a certain solitude, a removal from the ordinary channels of communication with our fellows, that we may open wide the doors of our own intimate nature for the wonders of the world to enter freely and intermingle with the wonders of our own nature. Only where there is this undisturbed communion with the permanent does man gather the manna which feeds his soul. Only in moments of quiet, when the lower calls of life have been silenced, can we experience inspiration—a “breathing in” of a rarer atmosphere than that in which we eat, work, and sleep. Only in such times do we really possess ourselves—experience that quietness and confidence which is the source of strength. Only in the period of contemplative rest will Nature reveal to us her more profound secrets. Only when the mind is free from the engagement of personal interests will those truths which are the substance of wisdom dawn upon the mind.

In the hours of darkness alone do the stars give out their light. In the restful hour, apart from the busy dance of life and shuttered from the glitter of its ephemeral changes, the meaning of life is borne in upon us, the insistent self merged for a few sacred moments with the whole persistent creation. So in the rest hour is life a poem, thought a philosophy, vision a prophecy, sentiment a religion. These gains gathered in quietude are retained, and give to industry a new interest and to Art her passport to the eternities—“when eternity affirms the conception of an hour.”

The rich need this repose as much as others, for most of them work unceasingly and are the least idle of men. Repose would enable them to hold converse with their own souls, and so realize how vain much of their work is,

also the enormity of their demand upon their country for such service as they do render her.

The habit of restfulness will counteract the irritating demand for a continual excitement; it will fill the mental and emotional void caused by the exhausting dullness of modern commercial life, and make more keen the enjoyment of such recreation as taste may choose.

Constitute yourself, therefore, the guardian of leisure, not for self only but for others, that all others may have as free access to this sanctuary of the personal life and no one thoughtlessly violate it.

LXXI

RECREATION

OF man's need of rest we have spoken; the need of recreation is as urgent. The quality of our work depends largely upon our opportunity for recreation and our good use of it. Not only should we make it the supplement to our pursuit, but we should make it a pursuit of that wealth of the mind which is man's best investment. Man's lordly faculties languish if commonplace occupations are not generously supplemented by the pursuit of culture in the hours of recreation. Generally our work and traffic with the world develop our power of observation and reasoning, but for the cultivation of feeling and taste we rely chiefly upon our recreation. If recreation is to be the true complement to the nature of our pursuit it should be devoted to the exercise of those parts of our body which the restrictions of our occupation tend to atrophy, to the flight of the imagination in the higher air of the ideal for those whose pursuit ties them to the grosser realities, to the play of the emotions for those whose work is monotonous and unemotional, to the feast of beauty for

those whose work-a-day life is set apart from nature and art. All of us in our recreation should embark upon the stream of literature which, gathering the experience of humanity from generation to generation, carries it to the open seas of thought where knowledge deposits its earthy sediment and is etherealized as Wisdom. Here in the world of letters we "hold high converse with the mighty dead"; we are introduced into a society for which the mind must put on its best mood.

This spirit is exemplified in the following instruction given by Richard de Bury in 1320 to his pupil King Edward III: "Scholastic decency demands that after meals we should wash our hands before reading."

We owe equal allegiance to body and spirit, and for this double duty man has instituted his weekly rest day and his daily rest hours. As creatures of a season and the mould of clay, we must plough our fields to reap the bread that feeds the mortal body. As carriers of life's inextinguishable lamp and with God's breath in our nostrils, we must plough the pastures of the imagination to satisfy the spirit's craving for music and letters. This fruit from the garden of the Hesperides is more substantial than the fleshpots of Egypt.

Only by this rhythm of work and recreation can life be as a piece of music—a harmony of diverse notes producing in the arbitrary order of their movement a melody.

LXXII

THRIFT

MANY of us are under a false impression as to the obligation we owe those whom we employ. We think we are under no obligation to economize where we pay the price. A moment's thought should convince us that we are not

the persons who pay the price of work done by those in our employ. Their maintenance, like our own, comes out of the common hotch-pot. We are, truly, the stewards dispensing the civil ration to those we employ, as also the civil servants directing their work in the public interest. A duty is upon us to prevent any waste of this national work and maintenance under our personal control. We are bound to have a care that this hotch-pot is not made thinner for others by a wastage on our part.

Further, many of us confuse thrift with so-called saving. The thrift by which we thrive is that wise economy in the everyday use of things on account of which there is more stuff to go round or more leisure to enjoy. This wisely managed thrift promotes a generous disposition and provides a richer enjoyment of the feast of life for the guests at its table. Saving is the act of an ungenerous spirit; it is the holding-back of a penurious disposition where it is not the thoughtless act of generous natures. Saving is a vice more injurious to society than is the hoarding of the miser. This passive greed harms chiefly the hoarder. But saving is made a power to penalize others. No one saves but to make a "gain" out of some one's work. What becomes a virtue in a dog who buries his bone is a vice in a man living within a community and maintained by its work.

In the realm of art there are things created by human work which may be enjoyed without diminishing their amount or power to give others the like enjoyment, such as music, literature, architecture, etc. Here we should be lavish in our use, since the need for thrift does not arise. Moreover, these productions—the joy of those who produce them—enrich the country by the lavish use made of them. The most thrifty will be the most prodigal of spenders in the sphere of art.

The setting apart a portion of our income against foreseen and unforeseen contingencies is not thrift, nor is it saving. It is a payment in advance for benefits to be

received if and when required. It is the prudential provision which removes the last necessity for personal saving—a provision which will be made obligatory upon every adult citizen as a preparation for the prohibition of “gains” upon the loan of money. Every form of business enterprise and extension, all research work, and other non-productive work are built, not upon personal saving, but upon the “surplus” or excess created by the collective effort; and without this surplus or excess over personal consumption for everyday maintenance there can be no fresh enterprise.

We shall not understand the law of the Hive unless we see through this fiction of saving—a fiction compounded by those blind guides who bury their eyes in the ledger. These male syrens by their enchantments are luring the whole people into this pool of investment whose whirl will sooner or later drag every head under its waters. To grasp the operation of saving, let John Brown follow the sovereign he had saved and last week had put into the post office savings bank. He will find it to-day in the purse of Mrs. Smith on her way to the shops for purchase of the family dinner. Having purchased her necessities, he may watch the sovereign travelling till it falls into the purse of Mrs. Jones, who buys with it the necessities for her home, and so on, and so on. Every sovereign saved and lent, either to the State, a private person, or a corporate body, goes the same way. The money, then, with which you buy your dinner is not yours, but some one else's money, if you regard the money you have put into the savings bank as indeed yours. The number of sovereigns saved and lent increases daily, now totalling many times the number of sovereigns issued, so that to each sovereign there are many claimants, you among them. He who first claims repayment will get the sovereign, and he will get it, if lent to the State, by the Government taking a small coin out of every worker's pocket, including his own; if lent

to a company, by the company exacting a toll upon the products of the labour which they control, thereby raising the price of what you buy at your shop. Whether it be the principal saved, or the interest upon this, the money paid over to the investor is obtained from the same source and by the like exaction upon effort. This perception of the fact should dispel the fiction that the saving of money is, in truth, a saving at all, or, if all were to save, that any single person would benefit a penny piece. We should all be in debt one to another, and the debt could never be paid. The ledger-keepers would some day erase it from their ledgers.

The money set aside each week by all workers from A to Z and funded with their societies or guilds against contingencies—illness, unemployment, fire, pensions, etc.—comes under a category of its own. If John Brown follows his sovereign here he will find it in Mrs. Smith's purse as she comes from the society with her husband's pension money. No one, however, has a first or last claim upon this money ; it was paid to the society for this purpose by you, John Brown, and you have no claim upon its return. When age or accident enables you to make a claim upon your society you will be given the sovereign paid last week by some young and lusty man.

Two hundred and forty men are contributing each his weekly penny that one member may have a pound each week. There is no contingency which your society or guild will not meet out of its insurance funds thus provided. This saving against the rainy day is but the purchase of a tool for some one to use until you have need to use it. As a tool is useless unless used, so money is useless until it be spent.

Those societies formed to enable people to purchase their necessities economically, or to purchase their homes by instalments, are organizations not undertaken for gain. The interest upon deposits is limited. These societies work for the general welfare and upon terms

the best possible under present circumstances. Yet it were well to understand that a custom which had taken root and become general for some three or four generations must have found a soil congenial for growth and conditions favourable to its practice. This was the case with the new custom of saving money and lending it out for interest which had become general throughout the commercial class when Queen Victoria repealed the usury laws. The rapid accumulation of riches made this practice inevitable among those who foresaw no evil to result. But for us who have experienced its disastrous results upon the lives of the people and the prosperity of the country its continuance is blameworthy, especially when its ostensible object can be attained in a wiser, surer, non-contentious, and wholly advantageous manner—that is, by universal contributory pensions as ample as need be.

In the past the only saving against contingencies consisted of a few coins safely harboured in some corner of the home, all adults, as a rule, earning something till death took them. If incapacitated by illness or age their slight needs were supplied by their sons, or, failing these, by parochial charities. The only considerable accumulations of coins or precious metals were those of a score of Jews specially licensed to lend money. Those knights, squires, and burgesses who had to attend the parliamentary sessions at Westminster could do so only when the expenses of their journey and sojourn were paid out of the public funds. The only bank that can be traced during the Middle Ages is that bank of the Holy Ghost referred to on page 128.

LXXIII

WASTE

MOST things which we use in our day-to-day life are things others have made for us. But our claim upon others does not end here; our daily need makes innumerable demands upon the time of others in the many services they perform. So used are we to have these conveniences at our beck and call, it seldom occurs to us that we should put any curb upon our use of them. We pay the price, and there ends the matter. But, unhappily, the matter does not end here, nor is it the user who pays the price. We put the money upon the counter; the other man or woman puts upon the counter for our enjoyment, not only his industrial output, his time, and his talent, but his health and happiness, his wear and tear of flesh and spirit, the flower of his day. In a word, he is not, in the majority of cases, doing just what he would rather do than not do. If you, the user of his work, are in the same category, this does not alter the position. Consequently, we should each exercise some consideration for our comrade, unknown though he be, so that our claims upon him are not capricious, extravagant, or needless.

Without any loss of enjoyment and with but small loss of convenience, we could each greatly reduce the claims we daily make upon others. We could do without this and without that, and find life a bigger thing, for *things* tend to fetter the free play of the spirit. This bridling of our needs is not the restriction of the niggard; it is the rule of a noble desire to make life as rich as life may be for all in our day. Every reduction of thoughtless waste in our house should carry into some one's home more leisure and more health-giving substance. We have no kind of justification in demanding from others

one tittle more than will see us through our life's task. To let water run to waste from the tap is a waste which does actually impoverish some one's life—make it poorer than it might be by so much more toil in the coal mine. Apply it to larger matters, multiply it by the units of population, then let your imagination take note of the result. Only the unimaginative will waste. Our country is suffering more from the waste of good things than from the want of them.

LXXIV

CRIME

By crime we mean any unusual act which directly results in some serious injury to the community or to a member of it. There are many injuries we suffer which, though not directed against us personally, are injuries resulting from the misdirected actions of others in the course of their business. Against such wrongdoers the law takes no action. Such offenders are so numerous that the State can take no action. It is a matter of education. For instance, any one who takes from the common output more than he needs to continue his own output and maintain his family is an offender, but not a criminal. He who does bad work for good bread is also an offender, but of such offence the State does not take cognizance unless some injury directly resulting from this bad work should occur.

Crime does not generally result from innate viciousness. It results from a want of balance amounting to a disease—an arrested development or a perverted instinct. In early periods all actions were submitted to a system of reward and punishment. The only incentive to a good action was the reward ; the only hindrance to a bad action

was the punishment. The system was applied to the criminal and to the saint.

That we cannot allow full liberty to unbalanced, perverted, and arrested natures is evident. We must remove such from our midst, till their lives end; but we refuse to inflict upon them any corporal punishment as a deterrent to others. That B and C may not do an undesirable thing we do not lay stripes on the back of A.

The seclusion from society does not necessarily involve the isolation of the individual. We set a control over him which he cannot himself set; we make it impossible for him to injure others or propagate his kind. His liberty has to be sacrificed to the public safety and health, as, in some measure, has the liberty of every one to be sacrificed.

There is no man who, in whatever he does, has not, as his motive, the desire of benefiting himself or others. The motive of the criminal is, of course, selfish, as is the motive of so many of us. But where he differs from other selfish persons is in that he has an intelligence so low or confused, his mind cannot discover the better way to his ends; he takes the evident short cut which in all matters leads one wrong.

LXXV

THE WOMEN'S INSTITUTE

Women live altogether more in the race than in the individual; they regard the affairs of the species as more serious than those of the individual.

—SCHOPENHAUER.

It has been explained that our social inheritance becomes ours chiefly through the instrumentality of women. They are the chief repositories of the developing social conscience—a conscience which slowly shifts the goal of

man's personal endeavour from his own welfare in the present to the welfare of others in the future. While the male has hunted and fought for his moment's pleasure or his day's meat and spoil, the female has busied herself with the preparation of his creature comforts; the care of the immature and the infirm. For the one sex it has meant the intensest form of a carnal self-development and a wilful self-expression; for the other sex it has meant the noblest and most generous self-surrender. Thus through the long past, when men outnumbered the women, the male was the personally ornamental sex, the female the socially useful sex. In her usefulness she sought to develop in the opening natures under her charge those excellences which her experience had found to be most beneficial. Her teaching, linked as this was with profound emotion, has had an effectiveness for life's struggle such as no other teaching has had.

Owing partly to the devotion of women towards the infirm, partly to the destruction of males by war and dangerous pursuits, the number of adult women in Western countries far exceeds the number of adult men. This fact has driven many women from home duties into the market place for industrial pursuits to which a maintenance-pay has been attached. This change of a woman's life has been intensified by another change operating upon her environment. By the expansion of mechanical production her home has been provided with its day-to-day equipment by the shop and factory. Not only has the work of the husbandman been taken from him, the spinster has also lost her work. Little has to be made for the household by its women. The mending, washing, and making of clothes, even the teaching of the children, have been taken out of the hands of the housewife. Denuded of those pleasant tasks whose end is the beauty and comfort of the home, woman has little more to do than play her erotic part as wife to husband. Yet an active life is indispensable to woman when not bearing children, partly on account of

her physical nature and ancient habit, partly on account of her highly nervous development. To satisfy the demands of her unchanged nature, a movement has recently been started throughout the country into which great numbers of women are being swept.

The Women's Institute is an organization which is not only filling a void, it is an institution which will influence the civilization of mankind throughout the West. Never in the history of the world have women combined to focus upon a single task their emotional power, their spiritual influence and love of doing. The result of this co-operation of women in pursuance of a definite social task cannot be anything but momentous. Here, for the first time in the history of mankind, shall we see the emotion of the Ideal carried to its highest potential, and organically directed towards the betterment of the race.

What woman has done in the past towards the development of the home, in the practice of the handicrafts, in the initiation of the social conscience, this and more will these groups of women do upon higher planes and in more extensive fields. The trainer of the child will become the lifter of the man. The housekeeper will become the village-keeper. Women will transform the group-life of village and country towns. This collective life of a people will be integrated, made articulate and beautiful, by the leavening influence of these Women's Institutes.

To accomplish this is woman's peculiar mission; to concentrate upon an ideal short of this is unworthy of woman's sovereign nature, is to be disloyal to the noble womanhood of the past. In bringing her influence to bear upon the bigger life, she is completing her work of the past, and leading to finer issues the humanity of the future. She is transmuting the baser metal into gold. She is more fully aware than the man that life, whose circuit embraces the constellations, has its centre in the human heart.

LXXVI

THE VILLAGE EQUIPMENT

WHEN industry is no longer forced on competitive lines for personal "gain," when it is re-established upon a co-operative basis to provide only what is wanted for real needs—not make-believe needs—the laggard and idle will disappear along with the driver of machines and the hustler of mechanics. The work to be done for the upkeep of an intelligent people—lovers of the beautiful—will then be done happily, bringing an abundant and fruitful leisure. Moreover, the need to herd folk in closely packed slums will have been removed. The village and country towns will be the chosen dwelling places and the most appropriate working places.

Taking into consideration the immense mechanical facilities upon which we may draw as handmaids of a simple and dignified life, taking into consideration how few are the things which will fill the demands of a cultivated taste and an intelligent mind, what will be the equipment of these chosen dwelling places—the villages?

There is no reason why the humblest village should not share with the town and city the urbanities of civilization and the fruits of co-operation to an extent sufficient to make the life of every member of a village community generous, happy, and dignified. Each village might have its own regulative institution—its folkmoot of elders—to promote the public welfare and provide those facilities and amenities which are beyond the power of the individual to supply. Such amenities would include the village moothall, or the church, for religious festivals, concerts, exhibitions, dances, and other exalting and godly recreations. Round the village green and market

place, where its annual fair and festival would be held, might range the school, the library, club house, and sports ground, with pavilion and baths. There would be the smithy and workshop, with all manner of tools and implements, including a potter's wheel and weaving loom, tractors and agricultural implements, to be hired by any resident. Each village might also have its cottage hospital and district nurse.

In the public buildings, not of our cities only, but of our villages and country towns, the pride of man's soul should lift up its head for the sight of all, in superbness of architecture and all the glory with which the arts may adorn her. These are the proper shrines of those local arts which great merchants and landowners so nobly patronized during the last two centuries.

In such a well organized and self-contained community the life of the villager might be richly endowed and made conducive to the soundest personal development. Here would local art be fostered; here would intellectual fellowship find a genial atmosphere. Here as nowhere else would grow the varied and noble types of men and women.

Up to the opening of the seventeenth century there were villages in England cultivating lands held in common and in severalty, sustaining their people upon food grown by the village folk and upon wine and beer brewed by the women maltsters and brewsters. The entire folk were then clothed with local wool and linen, spun by the maiden-spinsters and woven by the matron-websters in their cottage homes. With the help of a smith and carpenter travelling round from village to village, the farmers made their own ploughs, carts, harness, and other implements, beside building their own houses and making their furniture, floor coverings, and domestic utensils. This is no fancy picture; life was so.

The abuse of the power machine wrought the ruin of this. The rational use of this machine may some day

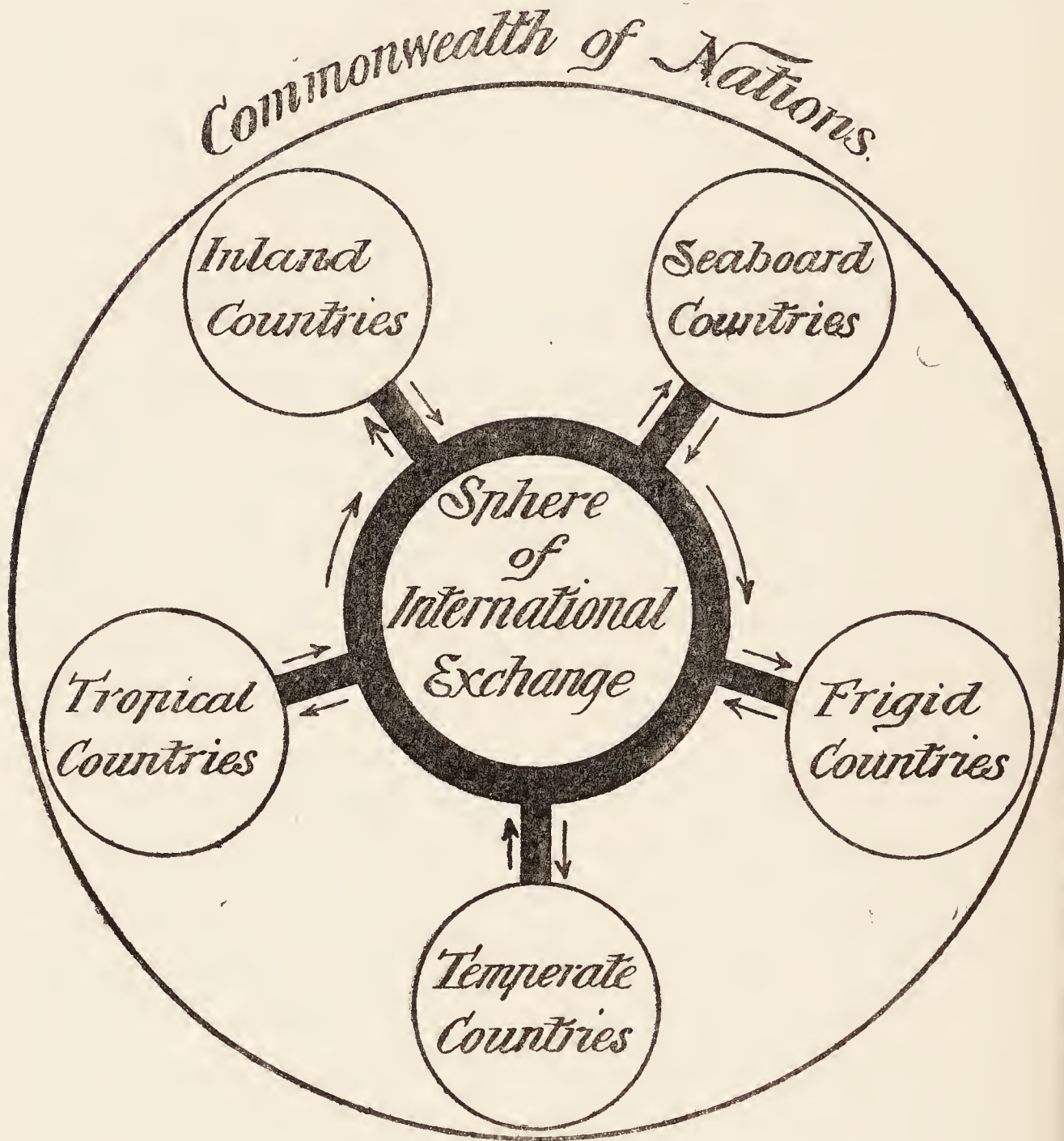
help us to reinstate it. Until this be done the personal life must necessarily be dismal, the collective life mean, and civilization at a standstill. In the nature of things civilization can blossom only where a large agrarian population is at the root of it.

LXXVII

INTERNATIONAL COMITY AND TRADE

WE are now carried beyond our own community into the family of nations. Nature has disposed her gifts in wondrous diversity, making every part of the globe rich in some special way, and giving to one region what she has held back from another. As a result of this varied distribution varied aptitudes have been acquired by one nation and another, and as civilization has advanced there has grown up a dependence of one people upon another for the treasures of the earth. In the days of force this dependence has led to wars; in the days of peace it will bring about cohesion and goodwill. But that it may be a source of comity and goodwill there must be the same fair dealing between nations as between members of a community. There should be a sharing of these natural gifts, but the sharing must be on equal terms. The differentiation between peoples in aptitude, temperament, and mode of life is not only a result of the nature of things, but a source of the richness of humanity; and, as we have said, this differentiation we may make a blessing or a curse, an explosive mixture or a binding element. If our international trade bind us to the heart of another people, then is it helpful to each party and therefore on right lines. If it create jealousy or competition to get the better of one's neighbour, then must it be unsound.

Fellowship outside national boundaries begins with the fair interchange of Nature's gifts—an extension of that genial barter carried on between schoolboys with birds' eggs and postage stamps.



Directly we cross the national frontier we enter a country whose people are developing a civilization different from our own and due to causes we have explained. It is in the interest of the human race—and the race is, after all, the important matter—that this variety of civilization should not be interfered with in its development.

All made goods are products of human effort, to bring which products into being particular industries, arts, and cultures have grown up, developing special aptitudes. Each country has been proud of its acquired distinctions, regarded its local colour as part of the heraldic blazonry of the race, and as such has kept it pure.

Economically, these national differences—human, geologic, and climatic—bring about different standards of living. Standard of living is no mere convention to be modified at will or altered by pressure. It is a part of a people's civilization. These differences, then, for their self-preservation, have their own law, which is a law of restraint—restraint, that is, in the use of things or adoption of habits and tastes foreign to a distinctive type of civilization. This law, intelligently interpreted and obeyed, would lead to prohibition of the import, to any large extent, of goods made in another country whose standards of life, taste, etc., were different from its own.

We should dismiss from consideration those goods whose import would permanently benefit the importing nation, also those which a people could not make when possessed of the raw materials. It would be unreasonable to restrict the import of such goods upon fair terms. But, considering what man is and what his wits can do, such an economic situation is not likely to arise, certainly not to be permanent. If from climatic causes shirts cannot be made in China from her raw cotton, she can make silk, linen, and woollen shirts from her home materials. Any importation of goods to satisfy a make-believe need must throw out of employment men who would be making goods to satisfy some more real need. Apart from the interference with local craft and craft-skill, the introduction of foreign goods to replace national goods interferes with the national taste—a product of many centuries' growth; moreover, a most valuable spiritual asset. To pervert taste from its own line of national development and thus give it an exotic twist

is a serious injury. Every industry naturally develops not only its own craft, but its own art. The utensil of every-day use will have its own simple beauty—the expression of the native imagination, full of appeal to those living under the same sky and sharing the same traditions. Therefore, for reasons of national economy, for reasons of national art and skill, the interchange between nations of made or machined goods is not to be encouraged on any terms.

Every import is an exchange for an export. Making goods for export injures the character of our home industry by necessarily introducing features attractive to a people having standards of taste or needs other than those of our own country. Under our present competitive system of trade the exchange of goods between peoples having different standards of living must, in the nature of things, involve some coercion or disadvantage to one of the parties. The highly-taxed and interest-burdened Englishman with his fare of beef, bread, and beer cannot compete on equal terms with the lower-taxed eater of rice. Any such international trading must end in a more toilsome work, a thralldom to the mine and the machine, and a sacrifice of those faculties whose enjoyment is expressed in terms of beauty. This is on the side of the less genial sky. On the side of the more genial climate it will mean the loss of some natural aptitude and an entrance of mechanical features into the life of a more sensitive and imaginative people; probably, also, the stimulation of some false need, cankering the national growth. Costs are so much a matter of climatic conditions; they are unalterable by man. Any “fair” exchange of goods would necessitate an international standard of living, which is a physical impossibility.

When we come to the exchange of natural resources, or what are called raw materials, the situation changes. The labour cost does not figure. The cost of extracting one kind of material—say, coal—does not come into

competition with the cost of extracting another kind of material—gold. The one may lie within a very genial climate, the other within a much less genial climate; a common denominator of those differences cannot be found. The country that has no coal is glad to have it; the country that has no gold is glad to have the gold; and the amount of each is determined by the amount of self-surrender on each side to obtain what each would have. By this introduction of raw materials, the skill or taste of a people will be in no way affected, or, if so, it will be in the direction of developing a skill in the use of the new material, as we have become goldsmiths and silversmiths.

In this matter of the neighbourly interchange of natural resources owing to their local distribution, the vital foodstuffs come into a category by themselves. A people will not settle down and become a nation in any region where nature has not made possible the means of life. There must be foodstuffs appropriate to the climate and needs of the people. That the supply of these foodstuffs shall be sufficient, Nature has left it within the power of man to control the demand by regulating the increase of mouths. Up to a point she will respond to his skill and intelligent effort by an increasing fecundity. Beyond this point she leaves it to man to control his own fecundity. Nature never intended that through our want of control in this matter we should jeopardize the simple ways of life, which are the distinction of more spiritual civilizations.

The only true purchaser is the husbandman or farmer. He alone of all men can freely command whatever goods he requires in return for his foodstuff. This free command is essential to the growth of agriculture; we must all wait upon the needs of this industry. "The profit of the earth is for all: the king himself is served by the field," saith the Preacher.

This home industry is seriously interfered with when foreign foodstuffs raised at a lower food-cost are imported and allowed to compete with home products of the same

kind. This serious injury to the nation at large may be prevented by the State control of imported foodstuffs. The importing merchant will buy his wheat as cheaply as may be, but under the terms of his licence granted by the State he will pay to the State a sum sufficient to raise its selling price to the level of the sale price of the home wheat. The farmer may then trade freely, and his industry be made remunerative. Owing to the higher wheat price, the farmer will get more goods for his wheat; the eater of bread, while giving up so much more work to the farmer for his bread, will give up so much less work to the State. Taxes will be remitted against the receipt by the State of money paid by the licensees on their sale of imported wheat. The economic position for the nation as a whole and for the several citizens remains unaltered. But the vital industry will have every natural inducement to get from the land all that the land will yield.

The products of pure thought—literature—are for all time and peoples, and to limit their dissemination would be unreasonable. The local speech will always keep safe the growth of the local product. With regard to the Fine Arts, these take care of themselves if only the applied arts have an open road to the homes of the people; for, a people whose taste demands fine examples of sculpture and painting will certainly have the power to create them.

In the chapter upon machinery it has been shown how we have misdirected our energies, by concentrating upon a wrong kind of artificial production, while exercising no restraint upon the power of reproduction which we naturally possess. The situation in England to-day is consequently abnormal, and demands abnormal measures to relieve it. To force the production of goods that we may press them upon other countries for our food is not the right or effective way to relieve the stress. We must ourselves make great sacrifices for the sins of our fathers—a sacrifice on every one's part, and involving severe restraints. Restraint of births; restraint in the use of

goods made overseas, and also in those made at home. Restraint in every kind of indulgence or enjoyment of things which in their production keep men from the fields. Restraint in modes of travel involving consumption of coal and oil, since these must be used for the production and distribution of necessities. Such general and severe restraints may soon reinstate our civilization, bringing dignity into our lives and goodwill into our economic relations. With the natural stimulus given to the home production of food by these changes of domestic polity, we could readily find open markets for such raw materials as we had to extract and export for the vital foodstuffs we could not raise. There is no climate in the world more favourable to the growth of the staple foodstuff of the Anglo-Saxon race than that of our island.

Even in the case of our colonies we have indications sufficient to tell us that our own kith and kin in their new lands desire to develop their natural resources and such craft-skill as they have brought with them. Any want of these good things will help them to make the most of their resources and powers. Here the friendly act is clear enough.

National areas, together with their nationals—all that we mean by a nation—should be regarded not as *powers* for the purpose of acquisition, but as federated families: departments of the great Human State, as planned by Dame Nature, each in its physical segregation making for administrative efficiency, and each in its human differentiation completing and enriching the cohesive oneness of Humanity.

Above all, let us not forget that all restraints are for a fuller freedom. International restraints are necessary so that every people may live its own life more fully and may more richly develop its own identity. Any restraint which makes not for this is unreasonable.

That most excellent organization, the League of Nations Union, gives the following as one of the many reasons

why we should all become members of this Union: "Because the League of Nations has introduced a new principle into the relations between the greater Powers and backward races, by which the just and humane treatment of natives is secured, and their progressive development recognized as a sacred trust of civilization." This just treatment must as fully enter into our commercial relations with these not backward but primitive races as they will enter into our political relations with them. That their progressive development will follow the lines of Anglo-Saxon development is scarcely to be conceived. To do them justice, we must understand that our ways may not be their ways, nor our civilization theirs. To be our brother's defender is one thing; to presume to be our brother's keeper is another.

The diagram indicating the source of the Common Wealth of Nations is typical only, and explains itself.

LXXVIII

CATEGORIES

THE ARTS

The aim of Art is to make man's work happy and his rest fruitful.

—W. MORRIS.

IN considering human life in relation to the world of things, art takes the cardinal position. It is the reflection of the more complete man thrown upon the world he creates. In the practice of art man seeks either to perfect and beautify the things he makes for his use, to release a restrained emotion, or to picture and communicate the ideal. Art helps us to a mastery over the external forces—helps us to a knowledge of nature and a knowledge of ourselves, for science is an art no less than

craft. To secure a harmony of relation between ways and means in the make and use of things, and between ourselves and others through this language of the emotions, art is the instrument. For mastery over the material world order is the essential preliminary; for dealing with the animate world sympathy is the essential motive. Right structure and noble passion are the fruits of these instincts of order among things and of sympathy between beings. Thus the arts reduce to a seemly order the confusion of things; they also create a bond between persons separated by fortune, creed, language, blood, space, and time.

SOCIAL ORDER	MODE OF EXPRESSION	CHANNEL OF IMPRESSION	PERSONAL ORDER
1	Architecture	Eye	9
2	Form		8
3	Colour		7
4	Line		6
5	Drama	Ear and eye	5
6	Poetry		4
7	Language	Ear	3
8	Music		2
9	Dancing	Body	1

Increasing technicality in ascent; increasing spontaneity in descent.

For its growth art requires the spiritual qualities of reverence for nature and of joy in living. Without reverence for the gifts of Nature we shall not be touched by her beauty; without joy in our living there will be no desire to perfect it, or set it forth in song. When the human faculties are all alert we have an art which is the mirror of ourselves. On the industrial side art starts with the making of the plough, the fishing boat, the pitcher and fountain, the dressing of the body, and the building of the

home. It attains its fullest majesty in the architecture housing the institutions of Church and State. On the emotional side, art begins in the rhythmic dance and musical laughter of children and in the sport of youth, attaining its loftiest reach of emotion in the song of the lover. It begins in service and ends in praise.

The æsthetic spirit communicates with the outer world through the sensations of sound, motion, colour, and form. Music is the basis and measure of all art. By song and rhythmic dance the joy of being finds its expression. In the adult this art is the banner displaying the divine pride of man in himself. This fundamental art is supplemented by the expression of more particular emotions through the arts of speech, religion, and poetry. In these modes of expression the earliest sense-organ to develop is the ear. In poetry, accompanied by the gesture of the drama, the appeal is to both ear and eye. Out of the combination of the dance, song, and drama has religion grown. The other æsthetic modes appeal exclusively through the eye. In architecture's "frozen music," or more truly folk-music, is art's social purpose reached. In the first art of dancing and in this last art of architecture we have the two arts which demand the active co-operation of other persons. But in the dance we have an art in which the human being is itself the stuff.

Intellectual abstraction dawns in the drama, which is the last art we share with the animal world. The abstraction of spiritual and emotional qualities increases in each successive art till it becomes the cardinal feature of the arts applied in the creation of architecture. Mimicry largely enters the arts of line, colour, and form, and is the characteristic of the drama.

The imaginative reason—the power of creating fictions—is man's distinguishing characteristic and his noblest faculty. Art is its language. Art is therefore the one language of the Ideal. Its social value is consequently enormous. Indeed, there can be no vital society without

a vital art as its medium of expression. It is the handmaid of the Church, the showman of the State. It illuminates the teaching of the one and exalts the authority of the other.

We should never lose sight of the main purposes of decorative art: one, to give us pleasure in the things we must use; the other, to give us pleasure in the things which we must make. Nothing is a work of art which does not minister to man's body or to his imagination. To bring art into our every-day life and work compels us to a simplicity in the one and an honesty in the other. Consideration for the work of others, regard for our own dignity, will prevent our having in the home anything which we know is not useful, or which we believe is not beautiful.

The qualities which distinguish a work of art from all other works have been the same throughout all times and among all peoples. They do not change; they are the fundamental qualities of human nature, which in its development ever remains at its core the same. Fashion has therefore no permanent influence upon taste. If we have taste we shall guard the beauty of the earth and reverence the beauty of our bodies. We shall set the mark of our appreciation of beauty upon the clothing of our bodies and the furnishing of our home. In our choice of things of fine workmanship we shall encourage the practice of the arts and crafts, in the sure knowledge that through beautiful and right doing come wisdom and culture. In truth, art may be regarded as the veriest ethic—morals and manners—in bringing about an inward adjustment to the most exalting influences entering the house of life.

THE INSTINCTS

In the animal world the young are born with a complete outfit of instincts. These are so definite, clear, and impelling that the young are able almost at once to fend

for themselves. They act as though familiar with the world from the beginning of things. They are familiar with the world thus early through their inheritance of race memories. They are a million years old at their birth. As we approach the higher types we find the instincts less numerous and less insistent; a reasoning faculty and an educability largely take the place of instinct. Along with this more highly evolved power there is a prolongation of the period of infancy, which enables this reasoning faculty to develop while the infant is being taught by its parents. During this development the infant recapitulates its racial past. This recapitulation becomes more compressed in time the higher the type of the organism. The child climbs a long way up its genealogical tree while in life-partnership with its mother. We should regard the child as its ancestor reborn for further trial and experience. Throughout the cycle of human life each being exhibits instincts which are the promptings of racial reminiscences. These come under four classes:—

1. *The Parental*.—This instinct serves for the protection of offspring. It is strongest where the term of infant dependence upon parental care and sustenance is longest and most active during the period of infancy. As the offspring becomes capable of fending for itself this instinct wanes. In the young the responsive instinct is also strong. So powerful is the parental instinct that a parent under its influence will face dangers even to the death. In the young it shows itself in the adoption of dolls and animals, and is strongest in the female whose life has been more a tapestry of fictions or ideals centred in the future.

2. *The Sportive*.—This instinct expresses itself in different ways at diverse stages in life's cycle, being very susceptible to the influence of the rational faculty. In youth it gives rise to games and gestures requiring physical exertion and some personal danger. The love of fighting and wrestling is an instance. In adolescence it

leads to games in which skill rather than strength is dominant, also to games necessitating an association with comrades and competitors. When the intellect has matured it so modifies the sportive instinct as to lead it to express itself in trials of skill from which chance and physical endurance are wholly eliminated. Billiards and chess are notable examples. Thus all games in some way mimic the sport of life.

3. *The Imitative*.—This instinct remains powerful throughout life. It is closely associated with primitive sentiments, so that neither education nor reason can suppress it. The herd-instinct, or folk-instinct, is the imitative instinct stimulated by the powerful sentiment of fellowship. The greater part of our social conventions, habits, and prejudices is the product of an instinct impelling us to do as others do, and to think as others think. Among primitive people it gives power to the belief in magic. Among more advanced people it endows the fundamentals of religious belief with uniformity. When embodied in a sound habit and associated with a fine emotion, it becomes a potent instrument of civilization. The desire to do to others as they should do to us is a sublimation of the instinct which impels us to imitate the behaviour of others and promote a common course of conduct. In this instinct the arts find their first stimulus and attain their final perfection. The love of beauty in man is the love of seeing his own features and qualities repeated or suggested in the mirror of material things. In art man looks upon the image of his marvellous nature, every turn of art's kaleidoscope presenting new marvels and fresh beauties. Government is largely based upon our imitative instinct; the politician relying upon the sensitiveness and power of this instinct when appealing to his constituents.

4. *Curiosity*.—Upon the activity of this instinct prompting us to investigate all things which act upon our senses and to discover their initiating causes is built up the progress of mankind in the material and physical

spheres. Just as the imitative instinct is strengthened by the sentiment which saturates it, so this instinct of curiosity is established by the strength of the reason which is brought to bear upon it. Knowledge of the outer world is gained chiefly through the free play of curiosity, and knowledge thus personally gained becomes more accurate and synthetic; more in harmony with the coherent phenomena of the universe, as our curiosity is directed by our reason. This knowledge, not being enclosed in deep-seated emotions but floating on the surface of the intelligence, can easily be cast adrift for sounder knowledge born of closer investigation. Science is the youngest offspring of this instinct.

A study of these elemental instincts acquaints us with certain facts. First, that convictions derived from personal example are stable and coloured with emotion. Secondly, convictions derived from physical evidence are unstable and emotionally colourless. The moral, religious, artistic, and political convictions are examples of the former kind. Business and scientific hypotheses are examples of the latter kind. Essentially the qualities of Beauty in all her modes are the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. On the other hand, the science of yesterday is the ignorance of to-day. To strengthen and guide the parental, sportive, and imitative instincts is of more importance, socially, than is the direction of the instinct of curiosity. The former instincts affect our spiritual nature; the latter instinct only supplies us with its machinery.

The instincts of the body are the experiences of the human self through the long past. They have their own calendar, their periods of ebb and flow. We become conscious of their pull upon us as the personal self develops. The instincts of the soul are also the experiences of the impersonal or social self in its growth through the ages. These, too, have their ebb and flow, and we realize their pull upon us as this higher or best self matures through generations of rebirth. Together they may be regarded

as the framework upon which man's "dual nature" has been built.

At the base of our nature, below these racial instincts, there lies the sex desire, with its guardian, the combative impulse; with its supporter, the possessive impulse. These in their natural manifestations are both exclusive, personal, and anti-social. The social process is now working upon these primitive desires by means of their social counterparts. For neither law nor reason can of itself counter desires. The social process is bringing the emotion of our æsthetic nature to play freely upon these desires of the animal nature, and under the influence of this fine emotion they minister to life as an art. The sex desire, endowed with a distinctly erotic motive, transforms the combative impulse into the emulative, and the possessive into a creative impulse. Thus our animal instincts are not to be suppressed, but uplifted into human desires of fine type by the infusion of refined emotion.

Given a rational power of self-control, our instincts may be relied upon as our surest guides. Our most illuminating intuitions are sparks from these never-to-be-extinguished fires. Hence every man has his moments of inspiration, when "eternity affirms the conception of an hour," as the poet puts it.

THE SENTIMENTS

SOCIAL ORDER	SPHERE	CHARACTER	PERSONAL ORDER
1	Mankind	Catholicity	4
2	Nation	Patriotism	3
3	Parish	Kindliness	2
4	Family	Affection	1

Increasing range of sentiment in ascent; increasing intensity of sentiment in descent.

The sentiments expand as each finds its liberating stimulus. They arise in the most intensive Egoism, and grow into the most extensive Altruism. Sentiment is rooted in the pride of man in himself, causing him to regard himself as made in the divine image. It ripens into a regard for others, causing him in its fullness to love his neighbour as himself. Self-respect and fellowship are its polar virtues. The sentiment of fellowship generates within the individual the sense of a spiritual union with the totality of mankind, and through the imaginative reason links up the individual with the whole past and the whole future ; his life the summation of the former, the anticipation of the latter.

Through this sympathetic union with our ancestors we acquire wisdom for the direction of life's short journey. Through the sympathetic union with our descendants we acquire the courage to subordinate our present interest to the interest of our heirs in the future. This expansion of the personal sentiments into the sphere of the immortal aggregate does much to satisfy man's desire for immortality.

Throughout life there is an interplay between the sentiments whose centre of gravity is within us and the sentiments whose centre of gravity is without and beyond us. We should neither extinguish nor suppress the selfish sentiments, but direct and refine them lest they hinder the simultaneous expansion of the social sentiments. The craving of the senses needs satisfaction equally with the craving of the heart.

The rings of the tree trunk show its annual growth. The expansion of ring upon ring of personal sentiment shows the growth of our nobler manhood. The physical seclusion of a family within its walled homestead, the seclusion of a people within its walled city or national barrier, are the reflex of an emotional seclusion circumscribed by a self too unimaginative to expand.

Civilization, then, depends upon the kind of sentiments

which the collective life of a people encourages by its commerce, its education, and its sport.

CATEGORY OF THE SCIENCES

FIRST TERM.—MATHEMATICAL SCIENCES
The basis of Abstract Conceptions

PRINCIPLE		SUBJECT
3	Mechanics	Motion
2	Geometry	Extension
1	Calculus	Number

Increasing Complexity of subject matter in ascent.

SECOND TERM.—INORGANIC SCIENCES
The basis of Concrete Knowledge

3	Electricity and Chemistry	Association and Combination
2	Physics	Properties and Sequences
1	Astronomy	Order and Relativity

Increasing Complexity and Modifiability in ascent; increasing
Generality of phenomena in descent.

THIRD TERM.—ORGANIC SCIENCES
The basis of Culture

2	Sociology : History	Synthesis
1	Botany and Zoology	Analysis

Increasing Complexity and Modifiability in ascent ; increasing
Particularity and Immobility in descent.

The above classification of the sciences is purely
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arbitrary, yet useful as showing the series of stepping-stones by which man has traversed the interval between ignorance and knowledge. Step by step has he come to discern the order of the universe with its uniform processes which we call "laws." Moreover, his schooling in these sciences has an order which is determined by the order of his mental development and experiences. Each science, as here represented, is a stepping-stone to the higher science. The knowledge of the simpler phenomena prepares the mind to understand the more complex. To understand mathematics helps to an understanding of mechanics; to understand mechanics, mineralogy, and chemistry helps us to follow intelligently the process of growth in an apple tree; and to know something of this process is a help to the understanding of the process of growth in our own bodies, and, later, in that still more complex body, Society.

Until, for example, the mind is familiar with the fact that in a chemical combination new properties arise unlike any property belonging to its constituents, we are not prepared to understand the difference between the individual-man and the group-man.

We should note that in the above tables the sciences are based upon mathematics, as the arts are based upon dancing and music. Mathematics and music are but different modes of one property, rhythm being a characteristic of all movement or progression in mind or matter. This explains the fact that most mathematicians and astronomers have been also musicians.

In the order of nature we discern two classes of law :
1. The simple or abstract. 2. The compound or concrete. In the first class we study forms and modes of activity; in the second we study systems of existence. An abstract science traces the working of a single principle, force, or motive through all its manifestations. A concrete science studies the ways in which the manifestations of a particular force are combined with those of other forces

—combinations which constitute the concrete groupings of the world about us. In its highest reach we have the science of sociology, which includes ethnology, history, political economy, and psychology.

An abstract science works upon concrete facts and presupposes a concrete science. We know the usual before the unusual. In all science we do one of two things. We may fix upon an actual group of relations, properties, or forces, together constituting the concrete aggregate, and so explain the whole which our eyes behold. This is the way of concrete science. We may, on the other hand, fix upon one relation, property, or force, or upon a class of relations, and follow this through all aggregates. This is the way of abstract science.

Concrete sciences are synthetic in aim, though they freely employ analytic—that is, inductive—methods. Abstract sciences are analytic in aim, though they employ synthetic—that is, deductive—methods. Chemistry, astronomy, geology, biology, psychology, and sociology are descriptive, historical, inductive, and concrete sciences. Mathematics, physics, economics, ethics, and politics are hypothetical, deductive, and abstract sciences. The concrete sciences end in “y”; the abstract end in “cs.”

The exclusive study of one kind of phenomena gives the mind a bias prejudicial to the importance of properties and processes characterizing the subjects of other sciences. Were we to study only such phenomena as are immutable—geometry and mechanics, for instance—our belief in the modifiability of social phenomena would be warped and our efforts towards amelioration paralysed. Further, by one sense we become acquainted with one class of facts, and by other senses we discover other classes of facts; we therefore need studies which develop all senses in turn. Each science leads to the discovery of some law or process which, though universally persistent, we might miss were we to study only the subjects of that science in which this law is a marked feature.

The most important of contemporary influences acting upon our minds are those having their origin in the discoveries of the scientist or in the creations of the artist. The scientific impulse leading us to these discoveries springs from the desire to know the not-self; while the religious or æsthetic impulse springs from the desire to know the inner and real self.

The separate sciences acquire that unity and emotional interest characterizing the arts as they embrace a wider range of natural law. All artificial boundaries, even those between things and beings, disappear one by one as knowledge increases. We discern a cosmic unity behind the phenomenal differences, one law harmonizing seeming opposites; a single process under which everything animate and inanimate is being kneaded to an all-embracing perfection. Under the stimulus of such a vision of unity it will be the desire of all to

Make knowledge circle with the winds;
But let her herald, Reverence, fly
Before her to whatever sky
Bear seeds of men and growth of minds.

—TENNYSON.

LXXIX

LOGIC

Logic is the youth of mathematics, and mathematics is the manhood of logic.

—BERTRAND RUSSELL.

THE mental processes by which our conceptions are formed operate generally in a consecutive order. By bringing reason to bear upon our observations through the complex of induction and deduction we become acquainted with the universal order, external and internal, to which we have to yield submission that the conduct of

life may be sound. By these methods of reasoning does the mind interpret experience and arrive at the rational conclusions upon which we act. The first operation of the mind is the gathering up of facts; from the complex isolating the single fact. The second process consists of grouping together and tabulating facts of a common semblance, upon which group the logical faculty works till it bring all these facts into a unified conception which we understand as a principle. Science thus acquires the facts, while philosophy sifts and welds them into conceptions of a process or law. These philosophic conceptions

	MENTAL OPERATIONS	THE MEANS
3	Co-ordination	Culture
2	Deduction	Philosophy
1	Induction	Science

become instruments by which we supply the intellect with the material of culture, this culture taking hold of the knowledge and co-ordinating it for spiritual assimilation.

Everything in this universe is in process of flux—everything is *becoming*. And a thing really is that which it *will be* when its development is complete. The things which the eye sees are not the real things. The ideal—that which the imaginative reason sees—is the more real thing. Man as he is to-day, at his best, is more really man than was his ancestor living in the caves of Britain; yet the man we see to-day is not the *real* man whom philosophy regards.

Through the experiences of industry, the discoveries of

science, the principles of philosophy, the creations of art, and, lastly, through our ideals, culture is working out the perfection of man's nature in its full compass. Culture takes equal account of the beautiful body, the reasoning mind, and the responsive heart of man, keeping in balance all his faculties, sentiments, and powers. Its highest value lies in its power to endow knowledge and life with a fine emotion, thus giving to science a humanizing influence and making letters humanities.

Logic implies conceptions, and in the formation of these conceptions the auxiliaries of thought are (1) images, (2) signs, and (3) feelings. These are employed in this order to the three progressive intellectual processes indicated in the foregoing table; the feelings focussing all the efforts of the intellect upon their unique objective, sympathetic unity. By signs and images we connect that which is within us with that which is without us. Thus does logic discipline the most disturbing of the three constituents of our nature: firstly, by a comprehension of the sway of external necessities; next, by a recognition of the subjective supremacy of the ideal which makes for personal perfection and social unity. Logic accentuates the subjective character of all knowledge.

THE INDUSTRIES

SOCIAL ORDER	FUNCTION	FUNCTIONARIES	PERSONAL ORDER
1	Furnishing	Craftsmen	3
2	Equipping	Mechanics	2
3	Extracting	Husbandmen and Miners	1

Increasing Amenities in ascent; increasing Utilities in descent.

The industries may be grouped under three heads: (1) Those that extract from cosmic elements the raw materials with which life's structure is built; (2) those that out of this raw material fashion the instruments which are the tools of industry; and lastly (3) those that furnish life with its substantial amenities. The family, the school, and the field provide the training ground of the industries. Here man's industrial apprenticeship starts, to be followed by a more technical apprenticeship in the workshops. The ascending order of industry makes an increasing demand upon cunning of hand and power of mind. As the specialization of industry tends to develop certain faculties at the expense of others, it is important that all the faculties should be educed and strengthened by a sound education as a preliminary to this subsequent specialization. The man is more important than the workman. The end of all industry is, first, the conquest of nature; secondly, the provision of life's substantial needs; and when man, in providing these, sets upon his industry the seal of his enjoyment—when, that is, he endows it with beauty—then is industry raised to the hierarchy of human achievement. Wanting this, it will rank only with the industry of the mole and the badger.

THE SERVICES

The distinction between the Services and the Industries is mainly this:—The latter are directly engaged in the production of life's substantial needs; the former in fitting man for some one of a series of industries; while their highest mission is to provide an open road with appropriate vehicles for life's adventure.

The former chapters have explained the particular character of the several services. All that need be said here in explanation of table on p. 280 is that under the heading "Discovery" are included the old knowledge and the new; the best that has been taught or said. It there-

fore includes the service of artists as seers and teachers—the prime ministers of culture. The medical faculty is also included as making for the improvement of mental and physical health.

SOCIAL ORDER	FUNCTION	ORGANS	PERSONAL ORDER
1	Government	Church, State, and Councils	4
2	Discovery	Schools, Museums, and Laboratories	3
3	Justice	Courts of Equity and Law	2
4	Movement	Land, Water, and Airways	1

Increasing Moral responsibility, with complexity of function in ascent; increasing Physical necessity, with simplicity of function in descent.

Here, as in industry, the tendency of specialization is to develop certain faculties at the expense of others. We therefore rely upon our leisure, with its recreations, to keep our whole manhood in balance.

Voltaire said that the superfluous is a most necessary thing. Both industry and service are exalted by the addition of the superfluous which art bestows as a spiritual savour.

LXXX

SUMMARY

Only those changes can benefit the hive that ultimately benefit its every bee ; and these only if they come not with suddenness.

WHEN studying the life of a social insect—say, the honey bee—we are amazed at the harmony existing between the ways of her little life ; her seeking and finding what she wants, her economic polity, and the build of her body, which is no other than a workshop of tools perfected to her life-craft. Everything done by this little lady seems to be done in the easiest and pleasantest way for herself and for her comrades, she singing her song the while. In a similar survey of human life, with its wider range of activities, its higher powers, richer inheritance, and more elaborate economy, we fail to find a like correspondence between what man inwardly is and the outward world he fashions for himself ; between his heart's desires and the means he employs to satisfy them. He by no means manages his affairs on easy and pleasant lines for himself and his comrades. He is whirled hither and thither by his personal caprices as by so many contending furies. Life, instead of being a cantata whose every passage has melodic charm and the whole a resolving harmony, is but an interlude of discords and discrepant parts. We have seen that this imperfect fitness of means to ends is the very cause of man's progressive perfectibility. Unlike the creatures below him on the ladder of ascent, man is born a very unfinished being, but with a high power of educability, which brings to him not only the consciousness of an imperfection in what is, but the desire to attain that which may be. It makes every man an idealist. It brings to man a knowledge that his nature is in process of maturing ; that he—man—is periodically

being born again; and that each rebirth, generation by generation, starts his ascent from a higher rung on the ladder of human evolution. From each higher point of view man sees the world of things in truer proportion. For example, he sees more clearly the importance of the race compared with that of the individual; sees the visible life of the hive to be fed by the invisible and inspiring spirits who form the immortal element of Humanity. From this bigger vision he is able to bring into better harmony of relation his new ideals and his old-fashioned methods. This ability becomes increasingly possible, inasmuch as, through the cumulative effect of inheritance, man is furnished at each rebirth with an improved outfit of appliances for tapping the secrets of Nature and harvesting her fruits. As under man's culture of the earth she more freely and fully expands her beauty, so under man's self-culture does his nature more freely and fully expand its spirit. The significance of this is that man is inspired to a continual modification of his methods, an improvement of his manners, doing what he does in an easier and pleasanter way for himself and his comrades. He starts life below the insect; he leaves it near the angels.

In tracing the evolution of ideals we have seen that man's imagination has never failed to invent some artifice powerful enough, for social ends, to keep his unruly body under ever better control, by luring him with the rewards of denial, or by frightening him with the penalties of licence.

The universe is all of a piece, and man is a part of this universe. The varied activities of human life have therefore a natural affinity, and this affinity is slowly asserting itself by man's economy, polity, religion, and art being brought into harmony each with the other and all with the evolving nature of things. This growing congruity and integrity, under which man himself becomes more truly the measure and type of the world's perfecting

process, provides the indisputable test of progress. To the modifications of present custom, as touched upon in the foregoing chapters, the reader will apply this test of congruity, integrity, and fitness, rejecting where any suggested change will not stand the test, accepting where it does; assured that, however opposed to the day's practice or opinion, such change will become the custom of the morrow.

We are all travellers, and the traveller's concern is not the character of the road he is on, but the direction in which it is leading him. To show this direction, so far as it may be discerned, the foregoing chapters should be some help as sign-posts.

In this Summary we place in sequential order those conceptions and practices which are undergoing significant modification. They are those which hitherto have seemed the most out of harmony with man's social and ethical nature; so much so that they have been regarded as not subject to a moral law. We know from the nature of things that this cannot be. We know that whatever a man does as an act vital to life, that act must be subject to the law which rules his whole nature—keeps the course of his self-development to its appointed orbit of comely order. The social process is busy eliminating incongruities and aberrations at every point in this orbit of our comrade-life. Both Man and Society are being kneaded to a more perfect mould. In this process we have seen the main features of man's evolution to be the development of those qualities which contribute to his efficiency in a Society whose conflict is one between a less organic type and a more organic type, the more organic type being more closely related to the welfare of the future than to the interests of the present. He whose goal is the day's need, he whose interest is his own, is therefore foredoomed to be not of the winning type of man. The Race, not the individual, is humanity's concern.

The basis of all human aggregation has ever been the

Family, and from the nature of man it must ever be so. The family is the unit of society, the pattern and initiator of all human institutions. In the family circle we have the fulfilment of the Past, the accentuation of the Present, the promise of the Future. To the pattern of this cosmic institution, group relationship and group organizations are being slowly refashioned; the individual becoming more ethical and social, and the tie of man to man and of nation to nation a tighter bond of spiritual brotherhood.

Within the family the play of circumstance has been more favourable to this social and spiritual development, endowing the female with a larger share of personal comeliness. Circumstances have played round her in such manner as to make her position and activities engender a richer inner life. They have made her the nurse of character, the architect of civilization, the mistress of the arts, the prototype of the future. Her force is centrifugal; man's centripetal. He, the winner of bread; she, the chalice of wine. While masculine etiquette has paid symbolic tribute to the more spiritually expansive sex, the male's self-centrality has exercised a lordship over the weaker vessel. Her liberation from economic servitude and sexual obligation is now being won to the betterment of the race and the uplift of her mate, inasmuch as she will be the more free to play her educative and erotic part in life. She will inspire the ideals of the future; make education the most ethical of instruments, and sexual expression the most spiritual of the avenues of experience.

The specialized pursuits which maintain the corporate life are becoming more organic in their constitution, more co-ordinated in their relationships, more serviceable in their aim. Their better regulation as public services is probably being effected by a form of self-government through their federation in Societies or Guilds, to which trade unions and masters' federations will give place. In

the personnel of this self-government the three co-operating partners—administrators, supervisors, and operatives—will have equal representation and power. Under this integrating influence their service to the public will be secured; and round the supreme interest of the common welfare, represented by the State Official as President of each Guild, all divergent interests will be made to converge. As equal contributors to the common weal in a system of team work the status of the three orders of worker will be recognized as equal; every service arbitrarily national, every method free and personal.

The recognition of (*a*) the personal task as a social service, and (*b*) the personal ability as a social product, is leading to a system of licences to be granted by the several occupation-guilds, under which licence each task will be more freely performed, each ability more freely utilized, yet with less interference with the like liberty of others, and less detriment to the public right over such task and ability. These licences, granted by a body that can regard the pursuit as a whole, will reduce the present chaos to order, and restore liberties where privilege has tyrannized. There will be no need to nationalize what is being honestly done in the national interest.

All wealth, economically considered, being a resultant of the physical consumption of foodstuff, the provision of a recurrent and increasing surplus of vital food is precedent to any national progress. This renders necessary some protection of the nation's agricultural industry; also some personal regulation of our procreative power. The necessary protection can be effected only by the State, and by means of a duty upon the vital foodstuffs imported, such as shall raise the sale-price of the imported stuff to the level of the production-cost of the home stuff. The only work Dame Nature compels her sons to do is that for their bread; this work done, each may do as he may choose.

The common wealth is wholly the product of personal effort; hence the personal right to any portion of this product, otherwise than by pension, is based upon some personal *contribution of effort*. Thus is the citizen-right interlocked with the community-right. Thus are elemental rights and duties made reciprocal throughout the hive. Again, the amount of the personal portion in every case is given, such limitation as justice determines, fixing this by the amount of the collective product required to make effective one's personal contribution thereto. Were it not for this reciprocity of the dual rights of citizen and community, any such limitation of personal income would not be tolerated. Under this all-embracing ethic, pay becomes, not the reward for work done, but an advance from the common wealth to secure from each citizen a particular and continual contribution to this common wealth. With this more enlightened aspect of the national economy the wage, as such, disappears, as also the old notions of "employer" and "employed"; one man as much as another, one man no less than another, being truly a servant of the State.¹ This law of wealth apportionment is the most important in economics. It rules every one's maintenance-income; it rules out every personal gain from loans of money and land—gains gathered always from some one's loss.

Food being the source of all effort, the maintenance-cost of any family may be accurately resolved into the single term of food-consumption-cost. The adult breadwinner acts as steward of this maintenance-income on behalf of the family, being morally responsible for his stewardship to the State—the real and sole paymaster. This family-maintenance-income we have shown to vary not only with the occupational needs, but with the age and number of domestic dependents. Upon this universal

¹ That this is so is shown by the fact that the pay taken by the worker includes, beside his own, the maintenance of all those in his household.

limitation of incomes, with the elimination of saving, universal pensions, upon a full contributory basis, will necessarily follow.

A community can enjoy that, and that only, which it produces; but a man can produce with ease more than will cover his bare family needs; consequently, the total national output of wealth annually created will be distributed, first, to each citizen according to his bare family and functional necessities; secondly, for the surplus, to each according to his ability to make use of it—an ability roughly to be estimated by the character of a man's self-chosen life-task.

Reference has been made to the attempt to allay discontent due to the difference of method ruling the pay of the operative order, and that ruling the pay of the administrative order, by the introduction of profit-sharing. We have shown the only profit to be the increase derived from the biologic industry which, theoretically, is now shared by all who eat the nation's bread. Commercial profits are, strictly, gains—gains taken, not out of the land as the gift of nature, but out of the larders of the manual workers as the toll of power. Any general sharing of this booty is, therefore, a physical impossibility. Any wide extension of "profit sharing" must bring about the entire elimination of any so-called profit, just as any general extension of saving must end in making "saving" a mere fiction of the ledger. The custom of gains prevalent for some dozen generations may have had its social use; but, now that we can replace it by saner methods, it will disappear automatically, with great benefit to all concerned.

The provision of man's diverse needs being undertaken by diversely specialized industrial groups, some vehicle is required to bring to each home its appointed portion of the common product as and when required. This vehicle is the national legal-tender-money. To carry out its purpose, this national money must operate as a measure

of the *effort expended* in bringing into being any product of human effort, since the like energy can again produce the like result when renewed by food consumption. That this monetary scale of energy-value may be as constant as the scales measuring weight, time, and space, its unit must be a constant—a constant volume of *energy-creating power*. Such a unit can be found only in the staple food of the country—wheat in the West, rice in the East. This fixed relation of a unit of money to a unit of wheat consumed, directly fixes the price of wheat and indirectly fixes the price of all things done by food-built energy. Various attempts have been made to secure a stable unit of value, these having failed for many reasons, but chiefly because the real meaning of “value” was not understood. The last attempt was made with gold. But gold, being itself the product of a perpetually varying amount of energy-expenditure, is unfitted to represent a constant-unit of energy-value or energy-expenditure. Gold must ever be a disturbing element when related to any scale as a determinator.

Energy-value, then, is not the vague, airy abstraction of financiers. It is an actual biologic constant of man’s physical nature. In the sphere of human commerce it is the physical term of human effort-expenditure.

The varied physical properties and social powers of money we have seen to be such that any use of this national instrument for a personal gain must lead to the creation and acceptance of a quite fictitious value, throwing out of gear the public scale for measuring that content of energy-value upon which all fair dealing—or, rather, fair apportionment—is based. So nervous does it make this scale that the cough of a prime minister may shake its balance, altering the price of coal for every cottager. A scale so important to life’s daily traffic must be guarded by the State, as other scales are now guarded by the House of Commons and the Lord Mayor of London. In the growing adoption of a paper token we are moving

towards the adoption of a scale or standard of energy-value that in the nature of things is unalterable.

Credit instruments are quite different from legal tender money. They are merely registers of debts and credits between exclusive parties. Whatever their volume, they cannot affect the personal claims upon the public stock of wealth ; consequently, they cannot alter the monetary scale or measure of this wealth. These private accommodations, created by a stroke of the pen, are annulled at maturity, every citizen being free to create his own credit instruments where his credit is known, as treasury bills are created and discounted by the private banks.

In all time-transactions with money an equitable settlement-point should be predetermined by the contracting parties, so that in the event of an alteration in the general price-level, through variation of wheat-yield, neither party shall have an unforeseen advantage over the other.

As pay or income is finding its true bearing upon the family-right on one side and the community-right on the other side, thus having an unshakable moral basis, so in due course will property find its true bearing on the twin rights of Occupier and State as its moral basis. Upon such basis property becomes socialized and occupancy is made secure, each interested party deriving therefrom the greatest benefit. It will be the duty of the State to make the personal tenure secure from generation to generation, while asserting its lordship of the national land and all proceeding from the land, by grant of licence, through the several guilds, to each holder of property. To make the public interest secure while maintaining the utmost freedom for the personal interest defines the rational limits of nationalization. National prosperity stands upon a secure and sufficient agrarian population, each family in its own inalienable homestead.

In the sphere of distribution, competition, so injurious to the public welfare, so wasteful of the common wealth,

will be sufficiently controlled by licences granted by the distributing guilds. In the sphere of mechanical production similar licences will arrest a pernicious competition in the adulteration of quality. Handwork needs no external control, since the joy of it lies in its being well done.

Fresh work can be done only upon an extant "surplus" derived from former work; this surplus we term "capital." It consists chiefly of latent human energy derived from yesterday's food-consumption; also of instruments in which former labour has been embodied. Active capital is labour *in esse*; passive capital is labour *in posse*. Money is not capital, but is a capital-purchasing power.

In the use of such instruments as automatic power machines there should be considerable restraint if man's inherited faculties are to be maintained, his instinctive cravings to be satisfied. An unrestrained use of them will make man mechanical in what he thinks and in what he does, over-rating the worth of quantity and generating throughout the proletariat a disguised form of slavery, a lower type of manhood.

The loyalty of a subject to a Personal Will is gradually being transformed by civilization to a loyalty of the citizen to the Collective Will or State. The benefits we receive from civil government being more than we can repay, our best return is an obedience to its authority and a willing contribution to the cost of its administration. Its function is defensive and regulative, in the interest of citizen and nation. Any attempt to use its accredited power for any other purpose will diminish its authority and rob it of a disinterested respect, while limiting personal enterprise, the backbone of progress.

The Church (including all religious establishments) is a regulative instrument operating within the more intimate sphere of conduct. Church and State are thus complementary. Yet the complete independence of each should be maintained in order that principle and polity

may not be confused, and principle may not be subjected to polity. Churches will multiply, while the State will remain one; each Church responsible only to her own communion for her doctrine and worship. The Church exercises her function in continually bringing our inherited conceptions into harmony with man's increasing knowledge of the world-order, in inducing a better harmony of relation between neighbour and neighbour; also in upholding character as of more value than ability. The eye of the Church is on the Future; the eye of the State is upon the Present. Religion provides man with an inextinguishable lamp to light him through the dark corridor of Time; poets, artists, craftsmen, and philosophers being the chief bearers of this Lamp of Life.

Democracy is a form of government which must eventually rely for its social efficiency upon a system under which the votes of the enfranchised millions may be sifted and the best men brought to the surface for final selection. The breaking up of the conglomerate mass of citizens into groups of some homogeneity by making occupational organizations—the guilds—our political constituencies would bring into being a natural sifting process ready to our hand. The House of Representatives is historically and essentially a body representing Functions, regions being useful only as locating the polls. Every function maintaining the corporate body is subject to regulation by this body through its governing assembly, in which each order of worker has equal representation.

Education is becoming a more efficient agent for the biologic development of our youth in its emancipation from the rule of theology. It is taking account of the calendar of human instincts and faculties; setting itself to educe these as they bud out. It concerns itself also with the beauty of the human body—its health—and the beauty of the human spirit—its character. It encourages a youth to sharpen all his wits and become by his self-discipline the best his nature will permit. It is breaking

down barriers of class while building up a civic structure whose main feature will be the charm of variety in personal ability and temperament. Its approach to its true purpose is being made possible by linking up the primary and secondary schools with our universities, giving an open road to the highest culture for any scholar who can step it. That the nation may reap the fruit of this, there should not be, during the school life, any recognition of class differentiation by distinct systems of education for rich and poor. Education recognizes only those distinctions which lie in the varied power to do and the varied power to be. Since the result of education can never be tested—must remain unknown till after the taught are dead—the position of an appointed teacher should be made secure from interference by parents or by State, his maintenance assured without reference to results. With the teachers are included the medical men who teach us how to live a healthy life.

Socialism we have seen to be the natural ferment of individualism working in the meal of Society. No society is possible where Individualism and Socialism are not each at its best in the beauty of their balanced reciprocity. Socialism provides personal initiative with a forward push and a restraining break when needed.

International relationships are also being brought under the dominion of moral law, a right and a wrong in international polity and trade being now dimly discerned. The effect of this upon our international and colonial trade will be to limit the mutual exchange of stuff to nature's products. In the exchange of *goods* between peoples living under skies different in their geniality, enjoying appropriately different standards of living, different modes of æsthetic expression, different inheritance of tradition and civilization—the products of permanent local variations—the disadvantages greatly overbalance the advantages. The local and genetic differences which the introduction of the foreign article breaks down are

vital to the rich development of the many mansions of the human race. Upon the intelligent protection of this vital element of variation the need of a moral law of restraint upon international polity and trade is based.

Thus we see that the discipline of law and the sanity of order are the characteristics of the grand progression of nature towards perfection; that man's methods are becoming more effective for the issuing welfare of the future by being brought into a fuller harmony with this all-pervading law of restraint and order. The most emotional of the arts—music—is restraint, number, ordered sequence, made æsthetically sensible. The most utilitarian of activities—commerce—will be honourable and wholly beneficent when it is discipline, order, just proportion, made physically sensible. This conscious trend towards an increasing harmony in all man does, thinks, and imagines, brightens life to comeliness, warms it to kindliness; makes every man in some way an artist, makes the art of living to be his very personal art. Which also means that a man's life, viewed as a whole, will have more of that inevitableness which is the distinguishing feature of all fine art—an inevitableness that compels the form and sequence of its every part to be such that they cannot be otherwise than they are without loss.

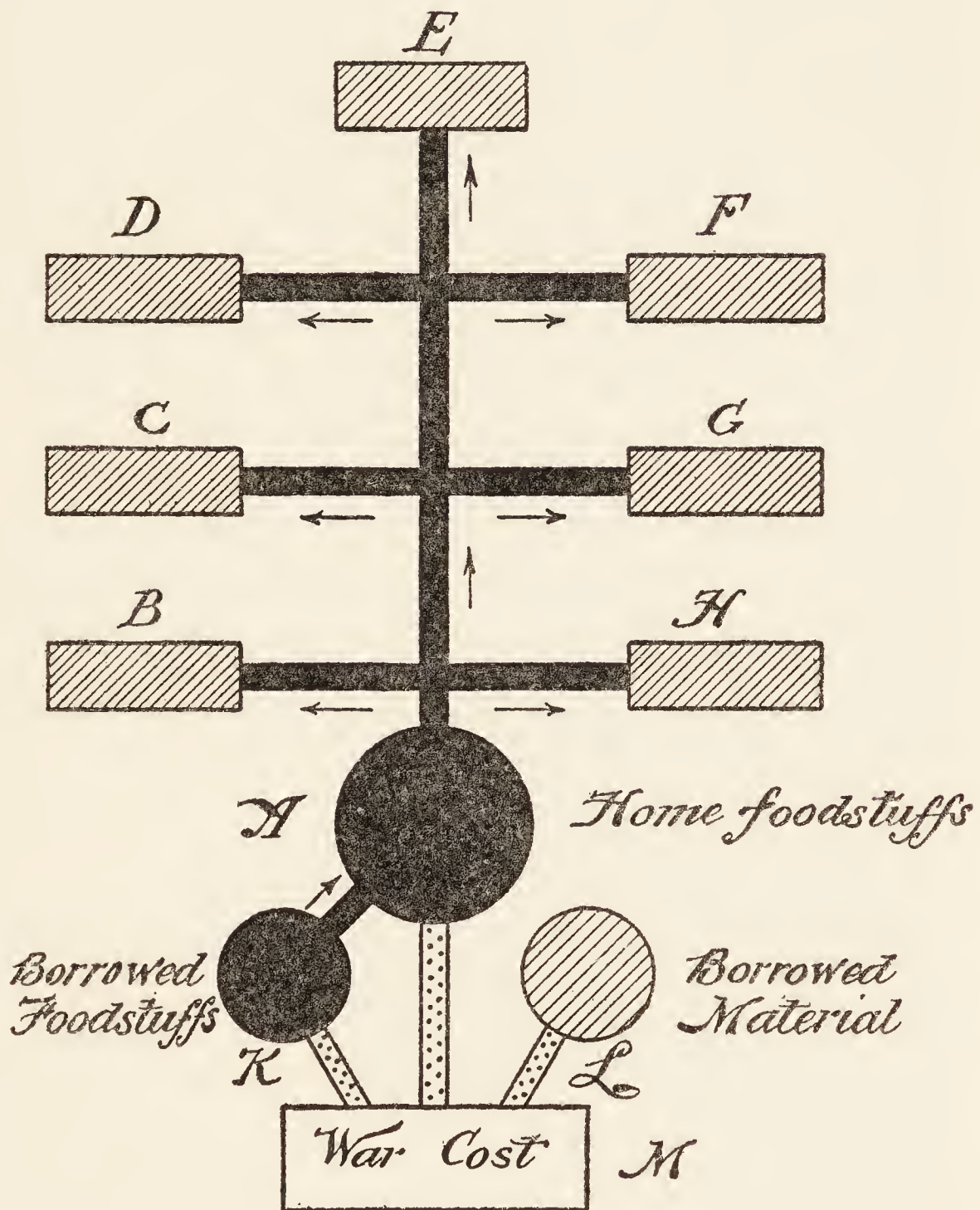
In the foregoing chapters enough may be gleaned to give one some idea of the meaning and promise of the full social life we are making for; enough to show how poor a figure that solitary man cuts who has let his barque be drawn into some side pool to become entangled in the weeds of economics, politics, learning, or what not, instead of his keeping it in the mid stream, making for the haven where the future wealth of the human hive is to be landed—a haven to be reached only through the fulfilment of the hive-law by whole-hearted personal restraint, with enrichment of the hive-life by downright personal effort.

“Give us that which is good and beautiful” was the Dorian’s prayer; “and He who, through all the ages of the world’s story, left Himself not without a witness, taught them to conceive the existence of this art of life, the perfection that is of manhood, of all things the most desirable of attainment, far beyond any single effort of the intellect or of the plastic instinct, which may be dignified by the name of Art.”¹

¹ “Of Restraining Self-denial in Art,” by J. H. Shorthouse, in *Century Guild Hobby Horse* (1888).

ADDENDA

THE REAL COST OF THE WAR



THIS cost will have its two sides—the physical and the speculative. We will first regard it from the side of the

realities. We have shown that the cycle of human production includes two operations : (1) The income of energy in the form of vital food ; (2) The output of energy in the form of work done. Following the diagram, we may regard the groups B to H as including the additional personnel which, by war-work or by fighting, helped to carry on the war. It does not, therefore, include those who in peace time are set apart and maintained for our defensive services. The entire real cost of the maintenance of these groups B to H is measured by the vital foodstuffs they consumed. These foodstuffs were in part supplied by our home agriculture and home exports, and in part by foodstuffs not paid for by exports. The former are indicated by A, the latter by K. In addition to our home production of material and services by the working members of the groups B to H the nation borrowed material from abroad, which is indicated by L. These three items, A, K, L, include the total of whatever physical materials were expended by or for those who in any way contributed towards the carrying on the war, over and above the regular or permanent personnel of the national forces whose maintenance and expenditure of material are a constant charge in peace time and war time.

We may divide this total physical cost of the war into two parts, one part of this cost (*a*) consisting of the food and material produced at home by the more strenuous work of our people, the other part (*b*) consisting of the food and material borrowed from friendly peoples. With the debt we shall presently deal. To these two costs, *a* and *b*, must be added the cost of (*c*) reinstating the material destroyed, also (*d*) maintaining the families of those killed or maimed. Tabulating the items of real cost, they will stand thus :—

1. The extra food produced at home to supply the extra energy-expenditure of our home workers.
2. The extra food purchased from overseas.
3. The additional food borrowed from overseas.
4. The extra material and services borrowed from overseas.
5. The extra food produced at home or purchased by home productions, and consumed annually by those unable to contribute to the common wealth through being maimed.
6. The food-cost incurred after the war in completing the reinstatement of damaged material.

There is no item of real cost (excluding interest on external loans) which the nation incurred, or will incur in the future, not included in one or other of the above items. Of these items of real cost the items 1 and 2 were paid for by harder home work as they were incurred, while the items 5 and 6 will be paid for by home work as they hereafter will be incurred.

This leaves the real cost of items 3 and 4 to be placed to the actual indebtedness of the nation on the war account. Thus, the people of this country paid the entire cost of the war as the war was being carried on, day by day, with exception of the comparatively small amount of food and material which were borrowed from overseas. In this account we have not included, as specific items, the material or services which we supplied to our allies, and for which repayment was deferred to the future, because the real cost of this material and services was met by food raised, bought, and consumed by us during their production, and is therefore included in items 1 and 2.

We will now look at the cost of this war upon its speculative or monetary side. The *war cost*, in terms of money, will be the sum of the following items:—

1. Money-value of foodstuffs consumed by groups B to H.¹

2. „ „ war-material purchased from overseas.

3. „ „ „ borrowed „

The monetary value of the nation's internal and external *war debt* will be the sum of the following items:—

1. Money-value of foodstuffs borrowed.

2. „ „ material „

3. „ „ foodstuffs hereafter to be consumed by those in receipt of war-pensions.

4. Money-value of foodstuffs hereafter to be consumed by those who will reinstate property destroyed.

Here, in the above four items, is set out the total war debt incurred by our nation on account of the war. The amount of items 1 and 2, representing our external debt, is almost, if not entirely, covered by the indebtedness of our allies for material and services rendered to them. Hence, on the assumption that our allies will meet their indebtedness to us and that we shall also meet our indebtedness, on war account, to any other country, the total war debt of our nation is no more than items 3 and 4—the cost of war pensions and the cost of future reparations to damaged property. The former item—pensions—is met by the productive work of the nation, year by year, as the debt is incurred; the latter item of indebtedness will also be met by the contemporary work which will repair the damage and wipe out the debt in so doing. What, then, remains unpaid of the real cost of the war so far as the nation is concerned? Nothing whatever. The relatively small cost of the war pensions and reparations, we repeat, will be met as required by contributions from the national output of wealth through the machinery of taxation.

¹ This food cost must be reckoned at the price of food when consumed.

On account of the war the State had to purchase from time to time large quantities of foodstuff and other material, also to hire labour and services upon a large scale. Instead of obtaining these supplies by the usual ways and means—a special levy upon income-tax—the State borrowed and made use of the spare claims which certain citizens had upon the future national output of labour and services. Our youth, with its full and rich life ahead, freely gave this life to the country as a debt of honour. Older men who had reaped greater benefits from their country, and had created claims upon the national capital of the future, lent to their country their titles to these claims upon remunerative terms. Were it not for what these lenders annually claim in respect of these *ledger-loans* the post-war taxation of the country need have been but slightly higher than had been the pre-war scale of taxation.

The repayment of this internal debt, though it bring no loss to the nation, is a heavy burden upon the shoulders of those who by their work bore the toil of the war. For the State, in accepting this loan of private claims upon future industry, practically guaranteed the full and perpetual satisfaction of the terms imposed by the lenders.

We come then, again, to the bare fact that the total war cost to the nation, excluding interest claimed by sundry citizens, is made up of these two items: (1) The pensions periodically paid to able-bodied citizens who have been maimed and to the widows of those who were killed in the war; (2) The cost of future reparations. Outside these two items there is neither outstanding cost nor outstanding debt on public account.

Of the immeasurable subjective loss, of the loss through the set-back of our civilization, we do not speak here. But it is deeply to be regretted that as we were awaking to the urgency of a higher expenditure upon education for the young, a larger leisure for the workers, a wider and ampler system of pensions for the aged and afflicted, our means should have been so straightened that we could not meet their cost. Were we all to-day as ready to make some sacrifice for these noble needs as did our young men in a larger way through the Great War, what an eloquent monument would then be raised by the nation to tell the future that these youths had not yielded up their lives in vain!

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

The system of political representation referred to in our fiftieth chapter is one which may readily be effected through the occupational organizations now foreshadowed in our Indus-

trial Councils. These Guilds, as we have called them, will in due course, as their value is recognized, incorporate every adult engaged in work whose product is subject to sale or exchange. In the United Kingdom there may be some forty Guilds. Each Guild will incorporate the personnel of all kindred occupations, wheresoever carried on; it will include every administrator, supervisor, and operative, every professional man and his assistants. The functions of these Guilds have been fully described. Each Guild will have its Council, composed as to one half of mental workers, the other half of manual workers; the two sets of councillors being elected regionally by secret ballot, each order of worker voting at its own poll for its own representative. The Council will thus have an equal number of representatives drawn from each order. The entire work of the community will be governed by these organic and democratic bodies, in which the entire working personnel is incorporated upon an equality of status for each member. The Council of a Guild would elect certain councillors to represent the occupation in parliament, thus getting back to a true functional representation, each occupational guild sending up selected operatives in number equal to the number of administrators and supervisors combined. One member of parliament will thus represent about 30,000 guildsmen. This organized system of representation will ensure a truly democratic method of voting, under which every man will vote for one of his own order; these first votes for election to the council being afterwards subjected to a sifting process for the election of members to parliament. The ultimate control of all specialized functions must rest with the public—that is, with the State; and that this parliamentary control may be wise and practical each function thus subject to control should have some representation in the first chamber.

A Labour Party can be regarded only as a temporary expedient in a fight for an equality of political control. This equality of control the political intelligence of the community will insist upon. But this same political intelligence will also discriminate between a herd of cattle whose mere number of stomachs rules its herd-life and a community of men whose life is maintained by hands and brains, ruled also by a wisdom that comes of a variety of experiences. Hence, the right which gives labour its representation does also limit that representation to an equality with other orders of workers in like degree essential to our complex life. The political parties astride the parliamentary rocking-horse will remain, as always—(a) the party to conserve the best we have got, and (b) the party to introduce a better we may get; representatives of

which parties may be found in all ranks in about equal number. Within these parties—conservative and progressive—every manual worker will find his place, as citizen, when labour has an efficient system of functional representation.

WHAT THE INDUSTRY CAN PAY

The above phrase so often in the mouth of the commercial man doubtless conveys a meaning for him. For others it has no meaning. For the employer it represents the last outwork of his defence against the repeated attempts of his men to obtain a higher wage out of his dwindling profits. At this last outpost he makes his stand upon this dictum, given out as a truth so fundamental as not to admit of challenge: "The wage cannot be more than what the industry can pay." The phrase is significant; proving the industry to have been built, not upon a real need which secures of necessity the support of the public, but upon the doubtful chances of gains to be got in competition against others—a competition in which the public is not concerned. To the employer out to make a gain it means he can pay only that wage which leaves a margin of gain, prices being just what competition compels. It may be that in this competition not only have wages to be cut, but honesty of intention must curtsy to dishonesty of methods.

With this disease of industry this work has nothing to do. It is concerned with the rules that maintain the industrial life in health. Yet this phrase does enwrap a truth applicable to sound industry. Each worker, it is true, has to live upon his ration of the common output. Equally true is it that, whatever be a man's special task, the man must justify his demand for this portion he receives—prove his task, when done, to be a valid contribution to the common weal in some way. This practical test is found in the willingness of certain members of the community to give up so much of their work-product in exchange for the goods in question as will suffice to maintain the personnel of that industry in accordance with the national standard of living. In this sense only that can be taken out by the worker which comes in from the consumer. When an industry fails to justify itself in this manner it must set itself to meet some real need. The question of industrial failure through mismanagement is quite another matter.

Every industry, then, must in this sense pay its way or cease to employ human skill and effort. The exceptions to this rule are those industries the value of whose work is too remote to secure the support of the workers; also those industries which in their infancy cannot support themselves.

The former class of industry should be assisted by the public because of its benefit to the future. This public support would be given by a subsidy from the national funds. In the latter class of industry the particular Guild should nurse an industry through its infancy till it can carry its own weight. With these exceptions, the family-maintenance of every member of an industrial organization must be secured as a first charge upon its receipts. That the particular work of each man who eats the bread of the community is a valid contribution to the common life the public must be assured by proof equally practical and just.

Competition for markets by the sale of exploited human effort is a recent disease of commerce. By reason of its aggressive nature it will either destroy or cure itself within a short period. Meantime we must avoid that confusion of industrial ways and means which would be brought about by any attempt to apply to the health of industry the medicine proper to its ailment. The health of industry is maintained by a generous rivalry to excel. Competition for gain is the canker of industry. When a more educated opinion rules out "gain" there will be no competition to get it. Industry can, then, do no other than prosper.

A CONTENTION OF LABOUR

The old story of the twin brothers Esau and Jacob, or Simplicity and Cunning, so comforting in its promise of the final overthrow of unjust dominion, may well be remembered to-day. Jacob, the dweller in the sheltered and well-furnished home, on whom "falls the dew of heaven, the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine," has robbed his brother, Esau, the tiller of the soil, as he came home faint and weary with his day's toil, adding to this injury a deceit by which he obtained a lordship over his life with its simple ways and means. "But," says the story, "it shall come to pass when thou [Esau] shalt have the dominion [over thine own life], that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck." Labour is entering its own dominion, and is struggling to free its neck from the yoke. In this struggle it is not unnatural that the modern Esau should regard every man clothed in soft raiment as a Jacob. Yet it is not so. Those who have inherited the fatness of the earth are awakening to a consciousness that the dew of heaven has not fallen upon them; that they, no less than their poorer brethren, have been ground between the millstones their fathers set up, and in the grinding have lost elegance of soul and power of enjoying that peace which passeth

understanding. The weary toilers who have long been between the millstones of injustice have not been quite so seriously injured. While suffering injury to their bodily efficiency, their inner sanctuaries have not been despoiled, or amelioration would be hopeless. Only in so far as a people is in possession of its soul will it have the power to free itself from the yoke of injustice, and free itself without laying a yoke upon other necks.

Here in this struggle there is need to distinguish between social evils and personal viciousness. The evils from which the whole community suffers in body and in soul are the outgrowth of social systems set up by our grandsires in honest belief that their fruit would be peace and plenty in abundance. The guilt is not to be laid on the doorstep of those who are to-day well-to-do. We all must take share in the guilt—all give our best to remove its stain. In this redress of grievances no member of the social body should suffer. Right remedies of social ills bring benefits of some kind to every member. Right remedies mean the striking at the root of the social evil; not a mere lopping of the branches. We must educate public opinion, which, when illumined, and not before, will quietly bring about wholesome laws and healthy ways. And those now wrongly accused will not be the last to co-operate in the endeavour of labour to bring about happier ways of work and a more just apportionment of its fruits.

Let us stop the tirade of abuse hurled at the capitalist, landowner, and investor. The unscholarly use of such words as employer, wage, capital, ownership, etc., only darken discussion and bring bitterness between man and man. Let us concentrate every spiritual force upon the dissemination of a more true conception of what every man's life within a community should be, which has the divine stimulus of its comradeship and the physical and intellectual support derived from the fruits of its complex effort.

As soon as there is a clear vision of the only relationships that can survive the stress of work and bring peace and plenty to an intelligent society, the administrators will be as much attracted by the benefits to be reaped as the operatives. They will see that they have as much to gain as the operatives under an economic system which will make secure the maintenance-income (with its ultimate pension) for every adult citizen, and in amount related to the functional and domestic needs of each. Noble mastership must eternally be an accepted part of the economic order. Vain ambitions, insincerities, sterile contentions, and slackness will melt away as the snow under the genial warmth of a goodwill throughout the team. There

is, however, some work to be done on the constructive side as well as on the educative side. The millions of associated workers—administrators, supervisors, and operatives—now segregated into several groups for their specialized tasks must incorporate themselves into larger organic societies (*a*) for the self-government of the several industries, and (*b*) for the disinterested apportionment of maintenance-incomes for their personnel; so all incomes may be regulated upon the same terms, from the bottom man to the top man. Such a society must include every member of the team, in order that its authority may be accepted by every member. By each party in the team digging itself in a trench, each facing the other like two contending armies, the fruits of victory for either party will be as bitter as those of victory in any war between peoples.

VARIATION IN THE WHEAT YIELD

A variation will sometimes occur in the yield of home-grown wheat. The reader may ask what economic changes may follow this variation when the wheat-price has been fixed for the purpose of stabilizing (*a*) the general purchasing-power of money and (*b*) every one's maintenance-income. In a year of scarcity the farmer will suffer a loss which will be made good by the Agricultural Guild, to whose insurance fund each farmer will have annually contributed. The consumers will draw more largely upon the imported wheat, for which they will pay by a surrender of more goods and services to the foreigner against a smaller surrender to the home farmers. The State will receive a larger sum from the licensees upon their increased sale of imported wheat, which sum would probably be handed over to the Agricultural Guild in relief of payments for compensation. There would be no disturbance of prices; no shortage for consumption.

Should there come about, as there certainly may, an increased yield of home wheat due to more skilful cultivation, the economic changes resulting from this permanently increased yield in a community whose people are sufficiently fed and whose wheat-price has been fixed by the cost of home-production will be as follows. First, as to the change in the scale of "value." Having constructed a scale of value applicable to every kind of human energy-product—that is, a scale based upon the "return" per unit of human work done in the field—when this "return" is increased the scale will need readjustment. It has already been shown that if more wheat should result from a given amount of work, then the "value" of everything done upon the consumption of food would be

reduced. The alteration in the sphere of money—the scales of value—would then be this: the sovereign—the unit of value in terms of money—would buy the same amount of human energy as before, but would buy more wheat as the physical product of this energy. More wheat to the sovereign means that the purchasing-power of money has risen; prices have fallen. If we follow this change in the sphere of realities it will be evident that each countryman—the producer of food-stuffs—will raise more wheat and other stuffs. Each will have a larger surplus of wheat with which to purchase goods from the townsman, and, notwithstanding the lower price of wheat, he will get more of the townsman's pots and pans for his corn; so be better off. The townsman on his side buying so largely of the foreigner will also share the increased bounty of nature by surrendering less of his work-product to him for his cheaper loaf; be also better off. Consequently, since the nation will import less foodstuffs, the townsman and miner will need to export less of all they turn out upon their food. Hence there will be more stuff in the country to go round. The smaller sum paid to the State upon the licensed sales of imported wheat would slightly reduce the rebate upon the income-tax. But this reduction would be shared by every citizen.

The necessary readjustment of the scale of "value" would be effected by the State. By statute the price of wheat would be lowered, and the amount of wheat-purchasing money reduced to maintain the equilibrium. This readjustment would take two factors into account: (1) The increased biologic profit, or increased yield of wheat per man, engaged in agriculture; (2) The proportion of men [with their families] so engaged out of the whole population. These two factors will together fix the amount by which the scale of value will need alteration, so that every citizen shall share, on the same terms, the increased annual profit in the biologic industry. Only when the monetary scale of value shall have been fixed in relation to the energy-cost of wheat-production at home, and when *all* incomes shall have been adjusted to a cost of living based upon the cost of the staple foodstuff—only when these things are so can there be any equitable readjustment in the distribution of wealth annually created. Hitherto it has been a scramble for this profit. The townsman, being in a majority, and, moreover, not being able to see far ahead through being so far from nature, has generally got the better of the countryman in the scramble.

It will be clear that any adjustment of wheat-price must be under the control of the State if there is to be no disturbance of the scales which measure every worker's and every pen-

sioner's daily portion. It is equally clear that there can be no equitable sharing of the economies effected in agriculture—the one industry which sustains each of us—unless the State can control the response of value or price to these economies. Since the wheat price-level and the general price-level are matters which intimately concern every citizen, the hand that controls these price-levels must be the hand of the corporate body of citizens—the State. This economic stability will confine all variations due to more skilful use of our national lands within limits of possible control. This control will ensure the general betterment of our material conditions, also a common alleviation of such work as we are each compelled to do for our provender. These benefits commonly shared constitute the only possible kind of profit-sharing, any other being fanciful.

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